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1928

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

1928

Our Year of Opportunity



A COOLIE FREIGHT TRAIN

The human burden bearer of China takes his place on the highways along with the camels, the clumsy carts and the donkeys. Veritable caravans of human porters bring charcoal to the cities, carrying it enormous distances with heart-breaking effort. In America a chauffeur and his helper may, in one shift, load, transfer and deliver eight tons from New York to Philadelphia; in China the same amount of work would require at least ten people and take a week or two.

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A MERICAN Labor is at the crossroads of its career. It can sink back into a small organization of skilled workers, gradually diminishing in numbers. Or, it can go forward to become a Movement of all the workers—in the highly skilled, factory and basic industries.

There is another alternative confronting it. The American worker is in danger of becoming coolie-ized. Not in actual physical work, for the American worker is the slave of the machine. It is the spiritual and mental status of our working population that is endangered. Fear is withering the souls and manhood of many of them. Against that return to slave mentalities, we must raise a strong, certain call to revolt.

This revolt has now reached the halls of Congress. Injunctions and labor spies are under fire.

Congress has been asked to clip the talons of the

Czaristic edict against the rights of the workers. If that body of gentlemen are wise—if they understand History—they will accede to the modest demands of the American Federation of Labor. There is no rhyme or reason to the injunction in labor disputes. It is the opening door to Involuntary Servitude, which ends in the "yellow dog" contract. The spy—international and labor—is a parasite on the industrial system that should be stamped out. It is time for Congress to act, and act vigorously, on this vicious set of rogues.

There is another job for us, out in the industrial field itself. We must get to the unorganized. We must reach the skilled and the unskilled alike. We must carry the battle to the camp of our anti-union enemies. This year 1928 is a year of opportunity. Will the record of the future show that we have grasped it?

Congress Looks at Injunctions

Labor's Legislative Program at Washington

By LAURENCE TODD

HOW shall the wage workers of the United States safeguard their lives and liberty for the pursuit of such happiness as comes to workers in a machine age? What legal safeguards may be hoped for?

That is the question posed by the American Federation of Labor in its annual conventions, and the answers of a majority of its delegates, drafted in resolutions and reports duly approved, go each year to the lawmakers of the nation. Most of them go to Congress.

Now that the 70th Congress is in session, organized labor has begun the familiar round of request, appeal, persuasion, and anxious waiting for action by individuals, committees and houses of the national legislature. And this time the injunction issue is paramount.

Since the enactment of the Clayton law during the Wilson administration, the labor unions have seen federal and state judges one by one demolish the defenses which it was supposed that that act gave to the trade union movement. Railroad and coal strikers have felt the heaviest of these blows from the judiciary, but factory operatives, stonecutters and a dozen other trades have been enjoined from carrying out the normal activities of labor unionism. The convention of the Federation at Los Angeles in October, 1927, devoted a large part of its time and serious thought to injunctions and the application of the anti-trust law to labor power. It took action which is about to culminate in a battle before the Senate and House at Washington.

That convention demanded two legislative steps: First, amendment or repeal of the anti-trust laws "in such manner that inhibitions against monopolies in the *products* of labor may be enacted in place of the present laws which are being used to prevent workers from combining for purposes of mutual aid"; second, and even more important, a definite limitation upon the jurisdiction of equity courts—the sole source of injunctions—so that they may henceforth protect only tangible and transferable property, and this only when there exists no remedy at law for the damage which is feared by the applicant for injunction. Since labor power is neither tangible nor transferable, this limitation of equity jurisdiction would bar the issuance of injunctions against organized workers engaged in strikes or preparations for strike.

Senator Shipstead of Minnesota, the only Farmer-Labor member of the upper branch of Congress, introduced in the last session and again in the present session a bill seeking to thus limit the jurisdiction of equity courts. His bill is before the Senate committee on the judiciary, of which Senator Norris of Nebraska, progressive leader, is chairman. As long ago as November Senator Norris announced his readiness to help bring this bill to an early hearing and prompt report, in order that it might pass the Senate and have the best chance

of getting through the House before the beginning of the 1928 political campaign.

National Conference Call

However, the Los Angeles convention instructed the Executive Council of the Federation to call a national conference of trade union representatives "and representatives of such other groups as it deems advisable," to meet in Washington at an opportune time to consider plans for securing legislation to protect the workers against hostile courts. The quarterly meeting of the Council immediately following the convention did not take up this matter, and the January 17 meeting was later arranged to be held at Miami, where the call for the national conference would be signed. It was tacitly agreed that this conference would take place at the end of January, and that hearings on the anti-injunction bill would be staged before Norris' committee before the conferees should leave Washington.

Agreement has not been secured, pending the Council meeting and the conference, as to the measure to be offered for ending prosecutions of labor organizations under the anti-trust laws. These laws, the convention declared, are predicated upon the doctrine that conspiracy in restraint of trade must be punished, but the courts have from the very outset found it convenient to hold labor unions, rather than private monopolists, to be conspirators in this field. Hence the problem is one of exempting labor unions from the charge of conspiracy, and it comes down to a definition of illegal conspiracy as dealing with goods, the product of labor, rather than with labor power itself. Moreover, care must be taken, the convention pointed out, to safeguard the interests of the farmers and the legitimate cooperative societies.

All labor organizations in the United States will be reminded by the Executive Council that they should participate in the nomination and election of judges wherever judges are elective, and that the candidates must be held accountable by pledge and record for any misuse of the equity power. Candidates for the United States Senate, who have a voice in confirming or rejecting federal judges nominated by the President, will—if the Federation program is carried out on the political field—be held accountable for the placing upon the federal bench of any lawyers known to favor the use of the injunction against strikers.

Prejudiced Judges

For the American Federation of Labor looks upon judges as men, subject to the human failings of prejudice and spite. It does not rely solely upon the letter of the law; it wants an even chance in the character and social outlook of the man on the bench. It asks how any judge, not soured of soul and ingenious in his determination to oppress the workers, could sweep aside,

in a rail or coal strike, this language from Section 20 of the Clayton Act of 1914:

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether single or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be held to be violations of any law of the United States."

Read those clauses, slowly, one by one, and compare them with the recent injunctions against the coal strikers in Pennsylvania, and the judgment of American labor upon the judges becomes clear.

Aside from these fundamentals, the program of the Federation before Congress at this session will include scores of measures, touching civil liberties, economic conditions, education, public health, social insurance, militarism, imperialism, etc.

Railroad legislation, which has occupied so much of the time of labor executives in the past dozen years, will have few labor angles in the coming months. The Watson-Parker Act of the last Congress has provided a mediation machinery which serves the well-organized groups but does nothing for the poorly-organized. Rail labor watches the attempt of railroad owners to agree upon new mergers and consolidations which Congress will be asked to approve, but it will have virtually nothing to say in this argument.

Coal miners, on the other hand, will have a great deal to say. They will be heard on the anti-injunction and conspiracy bills, but they also have started a drive for a Senate investigation of their own industry as an invitation to Congress to take responsibility for bringing order out of its chaos.

Coal Investigation

On January 6 they arranged with Senator Johnson of California for the introduction of a resolution directing the Senate committee on inter-state commerce to investigate the coal industry in the Central Competitive Field. They had pledges of support for this resolution from reactionary Republican senators representing Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia.

They expect to bring witnesses before the committee, to testify to the breaking of the Jacksonville agreement on mine wages by the big operators in the Central field, the growing irregularity of employment, the steady reduction in wages, the action of railroad and other cor-

porations in forcing downward the price of bituminous coal, the beginning of the present strike, the issuance of illegal injunctions against the strikers and union officials, the brutality of the coal and iron police and state constabulary, and the suffering of the strikers' families from cold and hunger.

When the country has learned, through these hearings before the Senate committee, of the terrible conditions in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana and Illinois, and especially in the three states first named, the United Mine Workers' leaders are confident that Congress will take steps to put the bituminous coal industry on a new basis. These leaders do not offer a program of economic reconstruction—neither public ownership nor private monopoly. They assume that Congress will want to preserve the existing competitive struggle in coal, and still be moved by humane sentiment and a sense of business order to provide a way in which the coal fields in these states can again be profitably and regularly worked on a wage basis that will maintain a decent living standard.

Forecasting the success of the coal miners' effort to secure from Congress definite economic relief for their industry would be hazardous. Congress will act only when driven to do so. It does not now feel that the miners are strong enough to oust many members of the House or Senate from their seats in the coming elections. The best that can be hoped from the hearings is that they will arouse the public and so will influence the next occupant of the White House to make coal stabilization one of his chief domestic aims.

Senate Is Favorable

Action upon the injunction evil and the menace of damage suits against labor unions under the anti-trust laws appears relatively certain. The Senate has a majority whose record indicates them favorable to the unions' contention as to the limits of equity jurisdiction. The House committee on the judiciary is apparently hostile, under the leadership of Graham of Pennsylvania, but the approaching political campaign inclines all members of the House to concede something to the organized workers. The anti-injunction bill, once through the Senate, can be passed through a reluctant House which does not know which party will rule the nation next year.

Amendment of the conspiracy clause is uncertain because the trade union executives themselves have been tardy in coming to an agreement on what they want. There will be long argument, in the Senate, on any change they finally propose. Yet here, too, the clouded political skies warn the anti-labor elements in both houses to caution and concession. Some bill purporting to abolish the damage-suit peril to labor unions will be passed. If no treachery creeps into the text, and if Calvin Coolidge bows to the will of Congress, labor will win a notable triumph in its long war for liberty to live. If Coolidge vetoes either or both of these measures, Congress will probably drop them.

In which event, organized labor will have to show what it can achieve on short notice with its ballot, after serving annual notice that it has no faith in the possibility of a working-class party.

Organize the Unorganized!

Planning the Campaign

By MARGARET HUTCHINSON

EVER since the launching of the open shop drive against us, in 1921, organized labor in the United States has been on the defensive. In the last two years there have been some moves forward, but these have been local in scope. It is high time that as a national Labor Movement we again took the offensive. This means an organization campaign on a grand scale.

Planning such a campaign to organize the unorganized is similar to planning a battle. In either case it is necessary to carefully estimate the potential forces in the situation, both allied and opposed, and to manipulate these forces so as to win the day.

What are the major social forces allied with and against the American Labor Movement of today? Let us examine our present situation, as the first step in planning our campaign.

Anti-Union Forces in Modern America

We'll begin with the forces of the opposition, since we must know the strength of our enemies better than they know it themselves—so as to beat them to it, queer their game!

We face the most powerful, because the richest and best organized, capitalists in the world today. Further, we are dealing with a group strong in its class solidarity and singleness of purpose. However organized labor may kid itself, the capitalists recognize the inevitable struggle between capital and organized labor. While they indulge in a little humbug and sideplay, joshing us and the public along, they are relentless in their militancy against us. There is no intention of quitting the fight for a peace pact on *that* side of the fence.

Besides these great weapons of ownership of the means of production and livelihood and of class solidarity, the opposition has a powerful political weapon—control of the government. The notorious sweeping injunctions issued against us in every labor struggle since the world war, the use of federal and state troops to break strikes, recent anti-labor Supreme Court decisions and hostile legislation, are too well-known among unionists to require definite citations.

The fourth group of weapons in the capitalists' hands are their control of the press, radio, movie and other means of publicity, and through these, the control over the minds of the American people.

In so far as we are poorly organized and divided among ourselves, we have placed an additional weapon in their hands.

So much for our opposition. His strength is rather impressive. There are vulnerable points in his armour, however, contradictions within the forces he commands which we can and must utilize. As well as certain counter weapons and vantage points which we must press home. Within the space of this article we can indicate only one or two points which seem at the present time, to be particularly strategic.

The Present Forces of Labor

While Wall Street seems to own about everything else, there is one thing it doesn't own—our labor power. This power which rests in our muscles, brains and backs is our main source of strength and our opponents' inherent weakness. For Big Business is dependent upon labor to man its machines of industry, commerce and government.

It is by mobilization of our labor power and solidarity that we have built our Movement so far, and in its further organization that our hope for the future lies.

Let us lose no time discussing those principles of organization long accepted by the American union movement, such as collective bargaining, the strike and boycott weapons, building of a labor press, etc. These are our weapons tried and true. But, valuable as they are, they are not sufficient.

This is proven by a study of the current figures on union organization in this country. If we include all wage and salary earners in our statement, then we are but twelve per cent organized. When we exclude the non-industrial elements, the percentage rises, but only to twenty per cent. *Only one out of every five American workers carries a union card.* And the trend since 1920 has been in general toward a *smaller* proportion organized. Why is this?

That such a condition isn't necessary is proven by the fact that in no other highly industrialized country is the relative strength of union labor so small.

A further study of the extent of unionism by industries and trades indicates an urgent and promising attack on our problem. Up to the present we have been largely a skilled craftsman movement. The semi-skilled and unskilled workers, with few exceptions have remained unorganized. They make up the bulk of the non-union 80 per cent. In 1926 about one-fifth of our union membership was contributed by the building trades, one sixth by the mining industry, one fifth by transport, one sixth by the textile trades, and the remaining fourth by such skilled groups as the printers, skilled metal workers, etc.

Also our union strength does not include but a handful in such basic industries as steel, oil, automobile, chemicals, copper and iron mining, the electric trusts' plants and the metal industry is largely unorganized. In the last few years our strength in the coal mining industry and on the railroads has been severely curtailed.

Clearly this is where one of our main weaknesses lie, and where we should mobilize our forces, by extensive organization campaigns. Organization of the semi-skilled and unskilled in these basic industries is necessary not only from the broad viewpoint of the entire Labor Movement but also from the narrower point of view of group self-interest of our present union memberships. *We must organize the unorganized in order to hold what we have.* While there was a time when it was

possible for unions of skilled workers to maintain a certain amount of conditions and security with the less skilled workers unorganized, that time has certainly passed for most industries and is rapidly passing for others. There are two main reasons for this change. First, the evolution of industry which is breaking down craft lines and reducing most of our skilled groups into the ranks of the semi-skilled. Second, when not, directly, then indirectly the unorganized are undercutting our standards of living. Their low buying power is one of the important factors making for the decreased demand for the products we produce, and therefore for increasing unemployment among us. Organizing the unorganized won't cure unemployment by a long shot, but it will at least help out.

When union methods of organization fail to keep pace with the times, we pay the price. Take for example the machinists' union, which in 1920 had 330,800 members, in 1922 180,900 members and in 1926 71,400 members. Or the United Textile Workers, which dropped from approximately 105,000 members in 1920 to 30,000 in 1922-1926. Railway unions, as a group have lost heavily, the carmen for example dropping from 182,000 in 1920 to 171,000 in 1922 and 89,000 in 1926; the railway clerks from 186,000 in 1920 to 138,000 in 1922 and to 91,000 in 1926. On the other hand, the building and printing unions, which have maintained a craft policy, have been able on the whole to hold their own. But these are exceptions, and even here there are signs that these unions must meet the same situation. The building trades particularly are seeing the inroads made by the less skilled, and the necessity of organizing common and semi-skilled labor.

For those who always say, "It is so difficult, indeed almost impossible to organize the 'semi-skilled'" the figures again tell an interesting story. Conspicuous among those unions which have either held their own or actually increased since 1920, are unions composed largely of the unskilled and semi-skilled. For example, the Hodcarriers' and Building Laborers' Union, and the Street Railway Employees' Union. The United Mine Workers, an industrial union of both skilled and semi-skilled, has held its own against many attacks, up until the last twelve months. With a little over 300,000 members in 1920 it had reached the 400,000 mark in 1926. Its recent heavy losses are primarily due to its failure to spread its organization to the non-union fields.

Our first slogan, then, is

Organize the Basic Industries

Strong unions must be established among the hundreds of thousands of workers, largely semi-skilled and unskilled, laboring in the steel mills, oil fields, auto, electric and machinery plants, and on chemicals, etc. At the same time we must greatly extend the miners' union, and the railroad and transport organizations.

What are the minimum points necessary for success in such an organization drive? First, the drive for organization would have to be on a national scale. We are faced with powerful national or even international trusts, and to try to fight for union recognition on any local scale would be a tragic farce. The preparation for these national drives would have to be most carefully laid months in advance. A network of small groups of

workers should be formed in every important center and plant, these groups to function as the basis for the future union, working quietly and preparing themselves for the leadership and responsibilities which they will be called on to assume in their localities, once an open organization drive is on.

Second, the unions will have to be industrial ones, as these have proven the most solid type, and in fact the only feasible form where skilled and unskilled work side by side in a trustified industry. Labor solidarity must be complete, including all jobs, both sexes, and no race discriminations.

Third, the program around which the workers are to rally must combine slogans relating to bettering their conditions, recognition of their union, and a strong emphasis on the great social purposes of the Labor Movement, which stretch far beyond our time into the future. In other words we must appeal to their group and class interests, and their latent social idealism.

Fourth, solid support, both moral and financial, of the entire Labor Movement must be mustered for their defense, both at home and abroad. For such unionization campaigns will inevitably mean large scale strikes. Wall Street won't give in without a severe struggle. Also support must be sought outside our labor ranks, among the farmers, small tradesmen, and other elements making up the so-called "public."

Fifth, it is strategically necessary that we build a

National Farmer-Labor Party

We recognize what a powerful instrument Wall Street has in the political weapon and how effectively it utilizes this weapon against us,—at all times and especially during strikes. *The opposition has mobilized its potential force on the political field, why not we also?* We must organize our own political organization, just as we have organized our own economic ones, so as to fight effectively on both fronts at once, one "flank" reinforcing the other. It is useless for us to try to mobilize our political strength through the old parties. We have tried that method and it has failed us, just as it has failed every other Labor Movement. Today, every other important Labor Movement has its own Labor Party. Isn't it time we followed suit?

Both the necessity and the opportunity are immediately before us. Nineteen twenty eight is election year. In the Northwest, especially in Minnesota where a state Farmer-Labor Movement has a good record of some years' work and achievement behind it, there is a move on to spread out and form a National Farmer-Labor Party. So the chance to lay our party's foundations is before us this very year.

Not only would we seriously cripple our capitalist opponents by such a move, but we would immediately increase our own force and labor solidarity. And with a strong labor party we would be in a position to do something about anti-labor injunctions and social legislation.

Through political organization we will find a strong ally in the farmers, who have more in common with us than otherwise. Especially do the farmers recognize our common enemy, the financial powers.

And with a strong National Farmer-Labor Party our chances of success in organizing the unorganized will be much increased.

Whose Job?

To Organize the Basic Industries

By A. J. MUSTE

EVERYBODY agrees as to who is to be organized, namely workers in the basic and trust-fied industries. It is not so clear who is to do the organizing, and that is the question we wish to discuss in this article. Does the past experience of labor in this country shed any light on it?

Sometime ago, from 1905 to the outbreak of the war, let us say, there was quite a wave of organizational activity in America, strikes, expansion of old unions, building up of new ones both in the A. F. of L., among independent unions, and in such "outlaw" movements as the I. W. W. It is possible, I think to determine in part at least what were the basic conditions that led to this activity.

After the "hard times" of the 1890's, there had come a period of comparative prosperity, of expansion in industry, development of new industries, changes in manufacturing methods, tending on the one hand to eliminate skilled workers to some extent, but on the other hand to create a demand for large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled. This latter need was supplied by immigration from southern and eastern Europe. These immigrants, most of them peasants in the old country with no knowledge of industrial conditions, nor habits of cooperation and organized activity, bewildered and afraid in the big new land with its huge and noisy mills and factories, unable to understand each other or the American workers, getting money wages that at least looked bigger than anything they had ever seen before, were at first pliant tools in the hands of the employers, were used as scabs to break strikes of American workers, did not dare nor care to protest. Presently, however, there came a change. The strangers became acquainted and did not feel quite so bewildered and frightened. Depressions like the panic of 1907 threw them by thousands on the streets. Prices went up and real wages did not keep pace. The material hardships and hazards and the spiritual humiliation to which they were subjected made them resentful and ripe for revolt.

The revolt came. Ludlow, Lawrence, Paterson, Mesaba Range and other cities and regions became historic. Huge numbers of workers were organized more or less permanently, sometimes in the A. F. of L. unions such as the United Mine Workers or the railroad shop crafts, sometimes by movements like the I. W. W.

If we ask what factors contributed to the success of such activities, brought relatively permanent organizations into being, or at least put an end to rotten conditions, instituted positive improvements, taught the employers that there was a limit to the workers' patience, the following seem to deserve attention.

1. The successful movements, whether in the A. F. of L. as in the case of the United Mine Workers or the United Textile Workers, or outside, sought to organize workers on an industrial basis. They recognized that in the industries and among the workers with whom they

were dealing, craft skill had been eliminated, and could not longer serve as a basis for organization.

Stirring the Workers' Emotions

2. They were movements that presented to the workers some vision, socialist, syndicalist, whatever the name or form might be, of a day when workers should be free, independent, self respecting, masters of industry and of the world. They proceeded on the assumption that these masses of workers could be relied on to make sacrifices required for organization only by having their emotions deeply stirred, by having a great hope and not merely puny immediate gains held out to them.

3. In the same way they were not afraid to resort to mass action, to call tens of thousands of workers on strike, to lead them in mass picketing, to defy the hired thugs of the employers, and the judges, to set the workers singing, shouting, demonstrating. The leaders were Labor Revivalists.

4. To a large extent the organizer and his methods were adapted to the people who were in a given case being organized. They did not send an Italian to talk to Bohemians, a bricklayer to organize coal miners, a scholar to deliver a dry and learned dissertation to a mass of foreign men, women and children in a large textile center.

5. For the most part these movements were interested in stirring up the workers to activity on the political field, tended to favor the formation of a labor party of some description, took advantage of political conditions to agitate for the general cause of labor and not for candidates of the old parties, even when like the I. W. W., they in principle repudiated all political action.

6. They were not afraid or ashamed to fight. As D. J. Tobin, head of the Teamsters International Union and Treasurer of the A. F. of L., said: "In the old days, when men fought for their unions there was a certain militant spirit pervading the air and you heard of the union around the houses, wharves and other places. You found men at meetings. You heard them out among their friends discussing the work of the union. Today you seldom hear members discussing anything of serious importance about the unions."

We cannot blind ourselves on the other hand to the fact that this period registered its failures, that it frequently failed to hold ground gained, and it will not be unprofitable to know some of the reasons for the failures. For one thing, underlying economic and business conditions were often unfavorable. A group of textile workers was organized when along came a big depression which drained off the savings of workers and their spirit, and often scattered them far and wide, thus breaking up the union. The unions were bitterly attacked and persecuted, the leaders often martyred by employers, government and other agencies. Leaders and people were inexperienced and untrained and made the mistakes that might

be expected under the circumstances. There was seldom any systematic planning of campaigns, leaders waited until a strike was on, or a wage cut brought workers to the verge of strike, before moving into the situation. Woe!ful ignorance of business conditions and other factors led to faulty planning once a battle was under way. Often there was failure to follow up a strike with systematic, patient organization work. Stubborn and dogmatic adherence to some social philosophy led to practical mistakes and factional divisions. The issues of dual unionism divided labor ranks, often robbed strikes of adequate support, sometimes led to one organization scabbing openly on another. In recent times militants in the American labor movement have repudiated this policy of dual unionism, doubtless wisely so. Nevertheless, an objective student of the movement will hesitate to put all the blame on one side. Dual unionism like other social developments does not result primarily from the wickedness or lunacy of theorizers; it arises out of conditions. Where a movement for a considerable period neglects certain groups of workers or fails to provide them with the type of leadership to which they are capable of responding, it is absolutely certain that they will sometimes seize upon the type of leadership that is suitable to them wherever it may be found.

Like Situation Impends

Does all this have any bearing upon the situation which American labor confronts today? I think it does. That situation is in many respects similar to the one we have been describing. Once again we have been passing through a period of prosperity, of rise in real wages, of expansion of old industries, building up of new industries, development of new machinery and methods depriving many workers of their skill and calling for the introduction of great numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers into industry. Where have we found our new labor supply? The answer is the negroes, the Mexicans, children, women, and people leaving the farms. Now although in most instances these people were not foreign born but native born, they were strangers in the industrial world. Hence we find them responding in much the same fashion as the immigrant newcomers of twenty years ago. They have felt bewildered, they have been suspicious of each other, their wages in money have been so much greater than they have ever gotten before, and indeed in some instances their real wages have been so much bigger than anything they have previously known, that they have been for the time being satisfied. Of course, the employers have resorted to all sorts of devices such as welfare work and company unionism to keep them contented and have met with determined and bitter resistance any attempt to arouse revolt and to organize the workers into bona fide unions.

Already, however, there are signs of change. "Coolidge prosperity" is becoming a joke to the worker. For the past six months there has been a great amount of unemployment and part time employment which the newspapers apparently are trying to cover with a conspiracy of silence. It is by no means certain that wages can be kept up indefinitely. In coal, textile, and some of the miscellaneous trades there is already a slashing of wages right and left. It is not to be supposed either that relatively high wages alone will keep the workers forever content, nor that the automobile workers, for example,

will submit quietly forever to the speeding up, the spiritual hardships and humiliations to which they are now subjected. Already there is revolt, actual or threatened, in a number of places, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Colorado, textile mills north and south, subway workers in New York City, etc. The workers are there in the big industries to be organized. It looks as though the time were favorable.

Facing the Task

If the job is to be effectively done, the methods that have proved effective in the past must be utilized and the mistakes of the past must be avoided. Workers will have to be organized on an industrial basis. As the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. states in its report to the recent Los Angeles convention, "The work of organization in mass production industries is such that there must be a new basis of appeal. The industry or plant must be studied in order to find a basis which would introduce elements of unity and joint interests." For other situations the question of building a great union of General Workers may have to be seriously considered. Idealism, some vision of an ultimate goal for labor must be stressed. To quote again from the Executive Council's report to the A. F. of L., "No human movement can exist long without idealism. Yet the day's work compels us to focus our thoughts and purposes upon the things we are doing, and we are apt to forget the ideal by which we would shape our living and doing." Mass appeal will be necessary as well as intensive education; the use of organizers adapted to the requirements of the situation (some unions have not yet learned the elementary lesson of using women to organize women and not using their oldest fossils in campaigning among the flappers); the use of political campaigns to advocate labor interests and not the interests of the old parties; and militancy, readiness to fight when necessary. Beyond all this it seems clear that systematic planning, money, energy, courage beyond anything required in the past must be available if we are really to threaten the entrenched position of the company union, the open shop, the huge industrial and financial interests of America. Who is to do the job? Where is the general staff for this great battle for industrial freedom?

Broadly speaking the job will have to be done or at least initiated either by the official labor movement or by unofficial groups as in the case of Passaic last year and in Colorado at the present moment, or by a combination of both types of agency. Which it is to be will be determined not by the whim or choice of any individual or any number of individuals, but by the great social forces that work in American industry and in the world situation. In such an essay as this all that is possible is to suggest the general line of approach which individuals and groups may use in dealing with such forces, and this we attempt in closing.

1. All are agreed that the united effort of all available forces is wanted for this job of organizing the basic industries and that therefore the evil of dual unionism and factionalism must be avoided to the utmost possible extent.

2. All would rejoice to see the official movement undertaking systematically the great task of organizing the basic industries. Support must be given to all in that movement who see the need, who want to organize the

EXAMINE THE WORKERS!



So Doc Coolidge has found American business is sound. The cartoonist in the Los Angeles Times, of course, refers to Big Business. The oil kings, beef kings and steel kings are doing well—but how about the workers! Put the stethoscope on Labor's chest, Doc. Find out how well it is with men and women averaging \$25 and \$30 a week, when they work.

unorganized, who are exploring ways and means for tackling the job. There is intense and effective work going on in a number of places, and there is wrestling with the problem. The Executive Council's report to the A. F. of L. Convention calls attention to the development of new industries which is all the time taking place and then states: "Unless there is definite responsibility for watching such developments, the industries are organized and operating before the union begins to consider organization plans. It would be much more desirable to have industries initiated with union contracts and under union conditions. . . . It is obvious we need to have more systematic observation and study to direct organization activity. . . . The responsibility must lie with a federated body—locally the central labor union and nationally the Federation. All unions would gain from such planning and foresight." On the other hand it must be admitted that on the whole, no great gains in organization are being registered, and it is bitterly disappointing that the A. F. of L. should be unable to report any progress during the year in the automobile campaign.

3. Past experience in this country and elsewhere has made it plain that conditions will not wait on persons or movements. In the long run, oppressed workers cannot be stopped from revolting and attempting to organize themselves. If in a crisis leadership is not available in one quarter they will seek it in another and they will welcome those who help them, not those who stand aside or attack them, even if the help be very inadequate and

faulty. Nothing will ever change that and no good will result from refusing to face it. Nobody has a right to decree a monopoly, to forbid the job being done unless he is permitted to boss it—and there are those of all wings and shades in the movement who tend to fall into this error.

Lincoln once said that his job was to save the union and if that could be done by not freeing any slaves, he would do it that way; if it could be done by freeing some of the slaves and not freeing others, he would do that; and if it could be done by freeing all the slaves, he would do that.

It Must Be Done

We may paraphrase that utterance. "Our job is to organize the unorganized. If that can be done by an ever-growing and maturing official movement, we are for that; if it can be done partly under official and partly under unofficial auspices, we are for that; if it can be done only under 'outlaw' auspices, we are for that; if it can be done by united effort and without internal struggle, we are for that; if it cannot be done without the strain and stress of internal struggle we are for that. We are for getting the job done first, last and all the time. We are for those who are doing it and against those who are not doing it. The job is bigger than any individual sect, movement or organization. On that proposition we take our stand."

Rightly understood there is room enough for us all on that platform. Have we the intelligence, the nerve, the disinterestedness to stand on it?

What Do the Courts Intend?

Are They Bent on Destroying Organized Labor?

By J. M. BUDISH

THERE is great and widespread interest in the injunction case of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York, which is now being fought in the courts. It seems that the great masses of organized labor are gradually awakening to the serious menace of injunctions. During recent years the courts have assumed an ever more hostile attitude towards organized labor, and have extended the writ of injunction to restrain practically every vital and indispensable function of trade unions. The permanent injunction sought by the I. R. T. is unprecedented in one respect, that it seeks to restrain not merely the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and its officers, but also the entire American Federation of Labor and all its three million members.

To realize fully the significance of this development we must keep in mind the Supreme Court decision in the well known Coronado case, by virtue of which the entire union can be held responsible for any damage caused to an employer by any member of the union even without authority during the time of a strike. If an injunction should be extended to embrace the entire American Federation of Labor it would, under the Coronado decision, make the entire Federation and every affiliated union responsible for any damage or loss that may be suffered by the employer as a result of the action of any worker involved. It must also not be forgotten that in case of strikes in which large numbers of workers are involved, the employers almost always have hired thugs and all kinds of private detectives and police, whose primary purpose is to provoke disorder and violence. In the Coronado case a million and a half dollars of the United Mine Workers was tied up for many years because of such damage suits.

Of even greater importance is the character of the injunction. The restraints it imposes are directed to prohibit the unionization of the workers of the industry by means of peaceful persuasion. This is a very recent development in the evil practice of injunctions. Following the precedent laid down by the courts in the injunction issued in Indianapolis against the Amalgamated the I. R. T. is now seeking to restrain the entire A. F. of L. from advising or persuading any worker of the Interborough Rapid Transit to become members of the union, to absent themselves from work, to hold any meetings or to make demands for increased wages, etc.

The Yellow Dog

This remarkable restraining order is sought on the ground that by joining the union of the industry the employees of the Interborough would violate their contract with the company. That contract, which is usually known as the Yellow Dog Contract, is exacted by the

subway trust as well as by many other powerful employers from everyone of the employees "as a consideration for his employment." The contract reads:

"I am not a member of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and I will not become a member while in the employment of any of the above (companies), and I agree that while I am so employed I will not make any effort among the other employees to induce any such employees to become members of the A. of S. and R. E."

Why any employer shall have a right to dictate to his employees as to whether they shall join or shall not join any labor organization it is impossible to understand. The Constitution guarantees the freedom of association. By what authority then can the employer reserve the right to limit the personal liberties of his employees? If it be permissible for an employer to exact from his worker a contract not to join the union of his trade, why should it not be permissible for the same employer to exact a contract from the worker "as a consideration for his employment" binding the worker not to marry a certain person, or not to join a certain church or club, or not to cast his vote for a certain candidate for office or for a certain party?

If business considerations shall be considered as sufficient reason for justifying the limitation of the personal liberty of the worker in one case, why should not the same business reasons be considered as sufficient reason for exacting a contract limiting the personal liberty of the worker in the other case? If it be permissible for a powerful combination of capital controlling the jobs and therefore the livelihood of the workers, to force upon them a contract regulating their lives outside of the shop, is there any limit to which such regulations cannot extend? If the courts are to recognize such contracts as property right subject not merely to the protection of the civil courts but also to protection by the writ of injunction of the equity courts, depriving the violator of the contract of trial by jury, does it not mean the re-establishment of serfdom in one of its most ugly and oppressive forms?

No Contract at All

It is an open secret that the Yellow Dog Contract is no contract at all. Contracting between two parties involves some equality of bargaining power. What chance is there for any individual worker to assert himself against a powerful corporation? What chance is there for any individual worker starved out through unemployment and who has no other chance to secure bread for himself and family except by getting a job, what chance has such a worker to bargain or even to consider the conditions exacted from him "as a consideration for his employment?" Any worker applying for a job at the gates of such a powerful company has to sign the application which contains the mentioned

LABOR AGE

contract as a matter of course before he even has a chance to be considered for the job. It is a case of signing on the dotted line without as much as reading the application blank. And it is on the basis of this Yellow Dog Contract, of its supreme sanctity as a holy property right to be considered and guarded by the courts above any human right or liberty—it is on the basis of this Yellow Dog Contract that peaceful persuasion is restrained by the courts, that union members are sent to prison for the frightful crime of persuading their fellow workers to join the union of their trade.

The sinister significance of this new development in the ever-growing menace of injunctions cannot be overestimated. Because of the attitude of the United States Supreme Court there is serious danger that these judge-made decrees should supercede the authority of the Constitution and the statute laws, stifling every effort on the part of the working people to assert themselves, to exercise their rights and liberties, presumably guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the laws, and preventing them from making any organized effort towards the improvement of their conditions. By the process of continued invasion of the power of the other branches of government, the Supreme Court has gradually assumed the function of the supreme ruler of the country. Neither the legislative nor the executive departments of the government have at present any real final authority. No law is law unless it is upheld by the Supreme Court, and every law is law only to the extent that it is upheld by the Supreme Court. The purpose, intention and effect of any law depends entirely upon the interpretation put upon it by the Supreme Court. So in a very real sense the Supreme Court is in the last analysis the maker of every law.

Laws which were never meant to regulate in any way the activities of unions, laws enacted for an entirely different purpose, such as the anti-trust laws and even laws which were enacted with the definite and express purpose to protect labor and to grant it greater freedom of organization and trade union function, such as the Clayton Act, were so interpreted by the Supreme Court as to convert them into an additional weapon against labor. The case of the Clayton Act is especially striking. When it was enacted it was generally considered as the greatest victory for organized labor. But then it was taken into the practiced hands of the Supreme Court and the Clayton Act became a boomerang. First, the section guaranteeing workers trial by jury in cases of contempt was annulled; then, in the Duplex Printing Press case, the court declared that the act does not extend to secondary boycotts, and, finally, in the Dorchy-Kansas case, the court used the Clayton Law to further extend the abuse of injunction, authorizing the issuing of an injunction even in the most peaceful strike if the court in its superior wisdom does not approve of the purpose of the strike.

The Bedford Case

Another very serious extension of the abuse of injunctions, also based upon the Anti-trust and Clayton Acts, was made by the Supreme Court in the Bedford Cut Stone case. Overruling the lower courts the Supreme Court ruled that a labor union can be restrained from refusing collectively to work on non-union made

material furnished them by the employer, even though such material may have been produced by a combination engaged in a concerted attempt to destroy their union. In this case, as well as in most cases in which the Supreme Court took additional drastic action in its continued offensive against union labor, there is a strong dissenting minority opinion. Justices Brandeis and Holmes defined the issue clearly when they stated in their dissenting opinion:

"If on the undisputed facts of this case refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor which reminds of involuntary servitude."

There is only one quite evident correction to be made in this statement. It is not Congress that created in these laws an instrument for imposing involuntary servitude upon labor but it is the U. S. Supreme Court that so interpreted these laws to make them serve as instruments of oppression of labor, though they were originally never intended for that purpose. We sometimes try to find some consolation in such dissenting minority opinions. But while they may be of some moral value in exposing the flimsiness of the scholastic, technical, legal structure upon which that august body, the majority of the Supreme Court bases its decrees to enslave labor, they are of no practical value whatever because every decision of the Supreme Court serves as a precedent for future decisions. After a case has been decided by the majority of the Supreme Court the justices who were in the minority are bound by that decision and all similar cases in the future will be unanimously upheld by the court in accordance with that precedent.

To Jail!

Another very drastic extension of the power of the equity courts to restrain organized labor in its normal functions was already mentioned in the injunction secured by the Indianapolis Street Railway Company against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, restraining the union and every individual member from making any effort to peacefully persuade the workers of that company to join the union of their trade. The reason was substantially the same, namely, the Yellow Dog Contract, under which the employees bound themselves not to join the Amalgamated. Two officers of the union were later charged with alleged contempt of court, the claim being that they tried to persuade some employees of the railway company to join the union. Both were denied trial by jury and both were sentenced to several months' imprisonment. The case came up for review before the U. S. Supreme Court, which refused to grant a review, thus affirming the decision of the lower courts, imprisoning two union members for their effort to peacefully persuade some workers to join the union of their trade. It was only after this decision of the Supreme Court was made public that the New York subway company undertook to seek an injunction not merely against the Amalgamated but against the entire American Federation of Labor. Thus every union member of the country will be restrained from communicating in any way with the employees of this power-

ful corporation for the purpose of persuading them to join the union.

If this decision of the court is to become the law of the land, as every decision of the Supreme Court presumably is, then all further organizing activities in any industry controlled by powerful corporations will be illegal. There are millions of workers in the great trustified industries who have been compelled to sign such Yellow Dog Contracts. Or more correctly, they have signed such contracts as a matter of course, as the only way in which they could have possibly secured being given a chance to secure a job. In those cases in which the employers did not heretofore consider the Yellow Dog Contract sufficiently valuable to waste space on the application blanks for it, they will easily be able to secure such Yellow Dog Contracts now in order to prevent the unionization of their people.

While this new extension of the abuse of injunctions apparently aims deliberately to prevent the further organization of the unorganized, the injunctions are also extended further in the old field of checking and preventing the normal functioning of the already existing trade unions.

Schoonmaker's Ukase

The possibility of any effective functioning on the part of the existing unions has been practically eliminated by recent decisions of the courts construing the anti-trust laws so as to prohibit any strike which may result in cutting down the supply of the affected goods in interstate commerce. We already quoted the Bedford Cut Stone case. The recent injunction issued by Judge Schoonmaker in the western district of Pennsylvania is even more explicit. The court declares that no matter what the intention of the union might be, or however legitimate the purpose of the strike and its conduct may be, the mere fact that because of the strike some non-union coal is kept out of the interstate market, the strike amounts to a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce at the point of production and the strike is therefore illegal. The Schoonmaker injunction goes so far as to enjoin the distribution of any assistance to the strikers, even the putting up of bonds for the purpose of enabling the miners to appeal against their being evicted from the houses of the company is prohibited. The injunction thus deprives the workers of the elementary civil right of every tenant to have his day in court in a "dispossession" case.

Since the product of every substantial industry is distributed in interstate commerce and since every strike in order to be effective must stop production and therefore necessarily keep out from interstate commerce the articles produced in the striking industry, it must therefore be evident that if the injunction of Judge Schoonmaker is permitted to stand then any strike in any substantial industry can be enjoined by any court as illegal. The right to strike under these conditions will become a mere academic right which could not be carried out legally in any large industry. If they be consistent the courts would by their injunctions deprive the American workers of the right to strike as effectively and perhaps more effectively than Fascist Italy.

The extent to which injunction courts are ready to go in order to prevent the functioning of organized

labor is strikingly shown in a recent injunction granted by Federal Judge Hough of Ohio, practically eliminating picketing by limiting the number of pickets to three and restraining their functions so that the picketing becomes a kind of a secret which can perhaps be discovered by the investigator, but which the general public will have great difficulty in discovering at all. But the judge goes a step farther and uses his august authority to decree that: "Each picket shall be a citizen of the United States and shall be able to speak the English language," and he threatens any non-citizen picket with deportation. The court itself, however, ordered the injunction printed in the English, Italian and Polish languages! One wonders by what authority does the court create two kinds of laws: one kind for citizens and another for non-citizens.

Step by Step

Thus step by step the courts have invaded every constitutional and elementary right of the workers. Originally the injunction was merely used to prohibit such activities of trade unions as were in any case illegal under the existing statutes. The purpose of the injunction was to intimidate the workers by depriving them of the right to trial by jury and subjecting them to the high-handed practice of something akin to court martials of what is known as "contempt of court" trials. Later another step was made and perfectly legal activities were prohibited under the theory that what might be done legally by a single individual, or even a group of manufacturers (as boycotting) is illegal and should be enjoined if undertaken collectively by workers in order to improve their conditions. Then, an additional step was taken when the court assumed the right to pass upon the purpose of the strike and enjoin certain strikes because in their superior wisdom they considered the purpose (such as collecting unpaid wages) unwise. Not satisfied with merely passing upon the purpose of the strike, the writ of injunction was further extended to declare illegal any strike if it result in reducing the supply of the respective articles in interstate commerce. And finally, the court came to the conclusion that it is not necessary to wait until a union has been organized and then prevent its functioning when its very organization can be prohibited. The injunction judges then took the final step and prohibited the organization of the workers in any industry where the Yellow Dog Contract or the so-called Company Union has been forced upon the workers.

One cannot help coming to the conclusion that this attitude of the Supreme Court and the lower courts shows a deliberate tendency to force serfdom upon the American working people. Laws intended to protect the workers such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the Clayton Act are interpreted by the courts in a way as to make them serve as a club against the workers. Strikes are declared to be illegal; normal activities of trade unions are put under a ban; further organizing is practically prohibited; every effective function of trade unions is restrained.

Are the courts really intent upon entirely destroying organized labor, so as to leave the workers as helpless slaves at the mercy of the powerful accumulations of wealth?

Wages and Prosperity

Poverty Remains Unconquered

By ANNA ROCHESTER

BETWEEN \$25 and \$30 a week is the average share of the American wage-earner in America's phenomenal prosperity.

At the beginning of December, Hoover and Coolidge stated with a boast that the average wage in manufacturing industries is \$1,280 a year. This means \$24.61 a week for 52 weeks or \$28.44 a week for 45 weeks.

In giving the average, Hoover and Coolidge failed to mention that the minimum standard of health and decency, as set up by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics and priced by the Labor Bureau, Inc., requires for the "average" family a sum well over \$2,000 a year. To state this would be to admit that prosperity has not conquered poverty in these United States.

What standards these averages reflect is clearer when we remember that the 31,000,000 wage-earners of the United States have the greatest differences in pay that the world has ever seen. We can say this without hesitation, even when we do not include with wage-earners the salaried officials nor any wage or salaried workers who are classified as "professionally trained." And of course the 31,000,000 do not include men and women who own their own business.

The "Aristocratic" Tenth

At the top, considerably above this \$25 to \$30 average, are the aristocrats of labor, the union members who run our trains, build our sky-scrapers, repair our plumbing, make our suits and dresses, and print our newspapers; and others, a very few groups in all, who with strong organizations have enforced wage scales far above the average. Relatively few of the unorganized skilled workers are in this group of "aristocrats." Among them are a minority, possibly one-eighth, of the steel workers; a minority, even smaller, of the automobile workers; a considerable number of non-union building trades and clothing workers who benefit from union wage scales; a very small percentage of the army of stenographers and bookkeepers; and a considerable percentage of those who render personal service to the rich.

In all, we may estimate roughly that some 3,000,000 wage-earners in the United States, are receiving from \$42 to \$60, or even perhaps up to \$75, for a full-time week. By no means all of this lucky tenth, however, have full-time work every week.

The Submerged Half

Meanwhile the "section hands" who keep in order the railroad tracks on which aristocrats of labor run their trains are averaging only \$17 a week. The textile workers who spin and weave our cotton average \$17.48. Silk workers in New York average \$22.22 and in Pennsylvania only \$17.40. In stocking mills the full-fashioned hosiery workers with their strong union in the North form a

well-paid group. But those receiving \$50 or more a week were in 1926 less than one-tenth of all hosiery workers, full-fashioned and seamless, and the great majority of the others get from \$15 to \$24 a week.

In fact, the same 1925 Census of Manufactures which shows the general average of \$1,280 a year for all factory workers reports that 1,750,000 workers, or one-fifth of all factory wage-earners, are in industries where the average annual wage is below \$1,000 a year. In other words, industries employing one-fifth of all our factory workers are averaging less than the equivalent of \$19.23 a week for full-time work.

These lowest paid industries include not only the cotton mills and the knitting mills, but most of the lumber industries (with nearly half a million workers); tobacco factories; canning, confectionery, crackers, and several other food industries; most of the unorganized clothing trades; turpentine workers; makers of wooden boxes, burlap bags, paper bags, baskets, brooms, artificial flowers, and many other minor products.

Rails and Coal

In transportation the section hands are far from being the only workers averaging less than \$1,000 a year. Common laborers in the repair shops, crossing flagmen, janitors and cleaners, messengers, telephone switchboard operators, camp cooks and kitchen helpers, and deck hands on steamers owned by railroads are almost as poorly paid as section hands. Wage figures for employees of Class I steam railroads are published by the Interstate Commerce Commission. These Class I roads operate 90 per cent of all the track mileage in the United States. In 1926, 23 per cent of their workers were in occupations averaging less than \$1,000 a year, or the equivalent of a steady \$19.23 a week. Thirty per cent were in occupations averaging less than \$1,200 a year, or \$23.07 a week.

"Able-bodied" seamen in 1926 were getting in cash only \$62 a month on Shipping Board vessels and \$60 a month on private boats. "Ordinary" seamen's wages were as low as \$47 and \$45. Other marine workers—firemen, coal passers, mess stewards, mess boys, greasers, and even the ship's carpenter and the boatswain—ranged from \$41 to \$75 a month in cash.

In soft coal mining, certain occupations have high rates of pay, and the hourly rate for laborers in organized mines is slightly above the general average for unskilled workers. But as everyone knows, most mines are rarely open even five days a week. In 1924, a year with no general coal strike, the bituminous miners averaged only 172 days of work, and their wages that year, as estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, were \$150 below the average wage in manufacturing.

Clerical workers furnish their full quota of low-paid workers. From a study by the National Industrial Con-

ference Board, an employers' body, it appears that about 80 per cent of the women and 25 per cent of the men working as clerks receive less than \$25 a week.

The Unskilled Mass

Not only manufacturing, transportation, and mining, but all sorts of industrial work depend largely on so called "common labor." Taking the country as a whole the hourly rate for common labor on July 1, 1927, was estimated by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics as averaging 42.6 cents, but the Bureau also reports rates ranging sometimes as low as 15 cents an hour. To the unskilled worker—apart from the organized building laborer in a few big cities—a pay envelope with as much as five \$5 bills is indeed a rare occurrence.

But poorest paid of all are the 5,500,000 farm laborers who average less than \$33 a month with board and about \$47 without.

More than balancing the 3,000,000 aristocrats of labor with their \$42 a week and more are, therefore, some 16,000,000 wage-earners who get less than \$25 a week. Roughly we estimate them as follows:

All the 5,500,000 farm laborers.

Perhaps half of the 1,000,000 mine workers.

Nearly 5,000,000 of the 12,000,000 in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

Probably 1,500,000 of the 4,000,000 manual workers in transportation, trade and public service.

At least two-fifths of the 5,000,000 clerks and kindred workers.

About 1,700,000 of the three million in domestic and personal service.

Some 6,000,000 of these low-paid workers are women and girls. In the factories of New York and Illinois—states with relatively high wage scales—the weekly averages for all women employees in October, 1927, were \$19.05 and \$18.01 respectively, while the men averaged \$33.32 in New York and \$31.38 in Illinois.

Of the approximately 10,000,000 men getting less than \$25 a week, possibly 3,000,000 are under 20 years of age. But at least 7,000,000, and probably more of them, are 20 years old or older. In other words, about one-third of the 21,000,000 adult male wage-earners are in this low-paid group.

In the "Reconstructed" South

The lowest wages, for either men or women, are paid in 10 southern states, from Virginia and Tennessee to Louisiana and Arkansas. The million and more workers in their factories averaged in 1925, according to the Census of Manufactures, less than \$1,000 a year, or \$19.23 a week. State differences in scale of pay stand out most clearly in the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics wage studies of selected industries. From these we take the following comparison of average full-time weekly earnings:

Industry	General Average	Highest State Average	Lowest State Average
Foundries (1925)....	\$31.42	Ill. \$34.00	Ga. \$21 09
Sawmills (1925)....	20.74	Cal. 28.66	S. C. 13 62
Meat packing (1925)	25.15	Penn. 29.61	Fla. 18.63
Soft coal mining.			
Hand loaders (1925)	26.82	Ill. 38.77	Tenn. 12.92

Hosiery (1926)

Male workers....	35.31	N. J.	61.50	{ Ala. & }	15.70
Female workers....	18.44	N. Y.	25.53	{ La. }	10.56

Underwear (1926)

Male workers....	24 23	Mass.	27.34	Ga.	13.28
Female workers...	17.64	Ill.	20.75	Ga.	10.72

Cotton goods (1926)

Male workers....	18.67	N. H.	25.27	Ala.	14.55
Female workers...	15.89	N. H.	20.90	Ala.	11.43

In this table the figures given for soft coal mining refer to hand loaders only, since the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has not yet published an average for all soft coal mining occupations in 1926. Hand loaders are the largest single group of workers in soft coal. The amounts given are, in this case, not *full-time* wages but *actual* weekly wages during the pay period studied by the federal bureau.

From the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics we also learn that the average hourly wage rates paid for common labor in July, 1927, in the nine big geographic divisions of the United States were highest in the Middle Atlantic States, 47.2 cents, and lowest in the East South Central States with an average of 27 cents.

Unions Push Upward

The contrast between the highly paid tenth and the grossly underpaid half of the American wage-earning population is apparently growing sharper. The highly organized crafts have pushed the average union scale up steadily higher since the war. In dollars the average full-time weekly rate of organized workers rose by 50 per cent from 1919 to 1925. But during the same period the average annual wage in all manufacturing rose in dollars by only 10 per cent.

Since 1925, union wage rates have risen further until in 1927 they were 63 per cent higher than in 1919. Meanwhile evidence is accumulating of a positive downward wage trend in unorganized industries.

The Downward Turn

In the first place, all the industries except one for which the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics gives wage index figures through a series of years had reached in some year since the war a wage level higher than the wage level reported for 1925 or 1926. The one apparent exception is the hosiery industry. Here the downward trend for several groups of hosiery workers is lost to sight because it is counterbalanced by increases secured by the militant full-fashioned hosiery workers' union.

In the second place we find in the weekly wage averages published by New York and Illinois that the figures for both October and November, 1927, are on the whole lower than those for the same months in 1926.

Against this background, the news items of recent cuts in New England cotton mills, Ipswich hosiery mills, Haverhill shoe factories, Youngstown steel mills, Connecticut silk mills, and elsewhere, become no chance incidents but forerunners of a serious attack on the wage-earners' scale of pay.

Wage cuts were predicted last summer by C. J. Hill, director of the management and labor department of Babson's statistical institute. In summarizing an address by Mr. Hill, Leland Olds of the Federated Press

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**THE LARGEST
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IN AMERICA**

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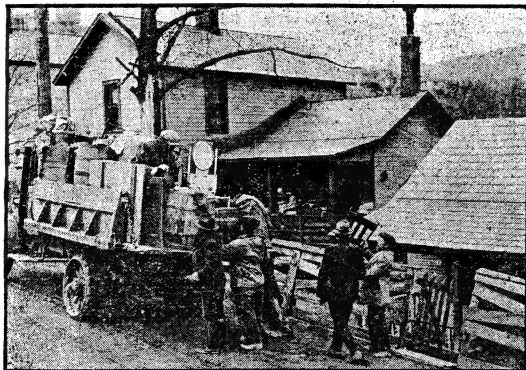
★★

New York, Tuesday, December 27, 1927

2 Cents IN CITY 3 CENTS Elsewhere

WAR HORROR IN COAL STRIKE

Story on Page 2

(NEWS photo)
Neighbors aid families, evicted from company houses, to move—

NEWS RIPS LID OFF COAL STRIKE.—Conditions of utter destitution affecting 275,000 people, as well as police brutality, industrial slavery and amazing court orders were discovered by NEWS investigators in

(NEWS photo)
—into union erected barracks at Harwick, Pa.

survey of Pennsylvania soft coal strike. They spent nearly a month in the field. Series detailing astonishing revelations of conditions in soft coal fields begins today.—Story, p. 2; other pic., 1.

624-1010

Suffering on the part of the miners in Western Pennsylvania has become so acute that even the tabloid Press finds conditions sensational. The New York Daily News has also discovered "police brutality, industrial slavery and amazing court orders."

said: "The increasing oversupply of labor, according to Hill, is expected to end the period of wage stability in the spring of 1928, when the trend will take a definite downward turn."

Fewer Workers, More Output

Apart from this immediate danger of acute unemployment, we see two other long-distance trends threatening the wage levels of American industry.

The displacement of workers by machinery has proceeded at accelerated pace since the war. The broad sweep of this movement is reflected in the Census of Manufactures. In 1919, some 9,000,000 factory wage-earners were employed and \$24,748,000,000 was the total "value added by manufacture." In 1925, only 8,400,000 factory wage-earners were employed and \$26,778,000,000 was the "value added by manufacture." Making allowance for the 17 per cent drop in the wholesale price index we find that the average output of goods per individual wage-earner had increased by 40 per cent. Of the dollar value added by manufacture, the wage-earner received, on the average, 42.2 per cent in 1919, but only 40.1 per cent in 1925.

Going South

But while the number of factory workers in the country as a whole has been going down, we find eight states in which the number has been steadily increasing. In these eight states more factory wage-earners were reported in 1923 than in 1919, and again more in 1925 than in 1923. And which are these eight states? South

Carolina, with an increase of 26 per cent from 1919 to 1925; North Carolina, with an increase of 15.6 per cent; Georgia, 14.4 per cent; Tennessee, 13.1 per cent; Michigan, 9.4 per cent; Alabama, 8.8 per cent; Arizona, 7 per cent; California, 2.4 per cent.

Among these states, Michigan reflects the growth of automobile factories, a slight revival in lumber industries, and a slight increase in paper and wood pulp workers. In California the small increase was chiefly in canneries and petroleum refineries. Arizona's total factory workers in 1925 were under 10,000. What remains? Five of the lowest wage states in the country.

The pushing of textile production in the South while New England mills get wage cuts and slack time is a conspicuous bit of current history. But textiles are not the only industries which are growing in low wage states. The recently available Census of Manufactures for 1925 shows that sawmill and planing mill products, furniture factories, railroad car repair shops, the building of automobile bodies, the making of stoves and cast-iron pipe and other iron work, and the manufacture of men's clothing had also contributed to the increase between 1919 and 1925 in the factory workers of the low-wage states.

A Serious Threat

Development of low-wage areas in the South, constantly decreasing demand for skilled labor, and a slow but steady reduction in the total working force employed, involve a serious threat to the present American wage—low as that already is.

La Follette Expose Continued

Tricking a Trickster

By JACOB NOSOVITSKY

Jacob Nosovitsky contributed "The Amazing Story of an International Spy" to the New York American in the fall of 1925. Sent to Mexico by American bankers to find a "Red Plot" he faked one and submitted forged documents to the U. S. State Department. He operated for the U. S. Secret Service and also for Scotland Yard. He often acted for the American Defense Society. LABOR AGE has carefully examined the material supporting this story of the La Follette frame-up, and is convinced that they are genuine and that the writer has given us all he knows about this interesting political episode. With the 1928 elections around the corner this startling bit of history from 1924 is of more than passing significance.

In his first installment, in the January issue, Nosovitsky told how he was asked by Major Charles E. Russell to frame-up the late Senator Robert M. La Follette as a "Red". When Nosovitsky said it could not be done, Russell stated that he was getting a lot of money for the job, so they proceeded with the attempted frame-up.

II. BEGINNING OPERATIONS

IN Cleveland I made my headquarters at the Statler Hotel. Late the night of the day of my arrival, I received a long distance call from Chicago. Russell's operatives reported that they were having a fine time, eating, sleeping and enjoying themselves, and with no signs of any proof whatever that La Follette was a Bolsheviki! "Keep it up," I told them. "Russell is doing the same thing. We may as well have a good time, too." From Cleveland I wired Russell the following prearranged telegram:

Charles Russell,
Room 462, 17 West 42d. St., New York.

Obtained important information. Going Detroit to see man who attended meeting. Return Cleveland. Will proceed Madison. Rest assured that I will produce results. Wire 150. May not spend it all but must have the money at my disposal. Wire money to James Anderson, care Western Union, Detroit.—JACK.

On August 12, I wired Russell again, viz.:

I remain Detroit, hotel Statler, until Wednesday. I sent other man to Chicago. Arrive New York when man comes back with information to complete case. I have everything wanted. Making general survey also.

JAMES ANDERSON.

The third prearranged wire was sent Russell on August 13, as follows:

Report and survey ready. I paid over 200 for assistance rendered to me. Must ask you to wire me some money to pay hotel bill and transportation to New York. If you wire money this morning, I will leave this afternoon. Arrive New York Thursday morning.—Jack.

On the same day I received from Russell a special delivery letter which reads in parts as follows:

I am keeping under cover until you return for as you

know I told my people that I, too, was going west on the case. It will mean so much more money for expenses when we settle with them. Raining hard here today and I shall take it easy until you return.—C. E. R.

During my stay in Cleveland and Detroit I was practically in daily communication with Russell. I usually called him on the telephone late at night in Greenwood Lake, N. J., where he had gone with his family on a vacation on the money given for the investigation. On August 14, I reached New York and reported at Major Russell's office, handing him the report on the La Follette movement. "Well written but not strong enough," said Russell, when he finished reading my report. My answer was that I had written the report as strong as I dared to, and that there was no sense in making statements that were so utterly false that, to well-informed persons, would seem ridiculous. I had determined not to get in trouble for Major Russell's benefit. If he wanted forgeries and fabrications, he could prepare them himself—I certainly did not intend to prepare them. Russell asked if I was willing that he should prepare another report, using my survey as a basis for it, but making it stronger than mine. I had no objection so long as I did not sign it. But after a couple of days of hard effort, Russell admitted that no matter how persistently he tried, he could not write a report that would look plausible to his clients, and that he finally decided to submit my report.

My report is too long to reprint in full, and the fore part of it was filled with generalities intended to alarm any capitalist about the wave of discontent sweeping over the country, yet containing no specific assertion or accusation that I could not prove. The latter part of the report was devoted to a sophistical and strained attempt to make it appear that La Follette was an enemy of the capitalist system and that his objective was the same as that of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and even the Workers (Communist) Party—the abolition of capitalism and the substitution of workers' ownership of industry.

Bringing in the Reds

AT the outset I declared that the third party movement was really serious and should not be minimized. I said: "There are many people in the United States who sniff at the idea that anything new is happening in this country. They point to the Greenback, the Populist Party, the Progressive Party of 1912, and declare that the present movement among industrial workers and farmers for independent political action is but a repetition of these past movements, which will prove as ephemeral as the efforts of the past." After denying the transitory nature of the La Follette movement and ascribing to it grave significance, I said: "Wherever you go, you will always find a red agitator poisoning the minds of workers, gradually convincing the workers that the federal government is acting as the agent of the capitalist class, that the capitalists are making the workers pay the cost of the war in lower wages and longer hours of work, and

LABOR AGE

that injunctions, courts and soldiers are always at the disposal of the capitalists to suppress any attempt on the part of the workers to free themselves from economic slavery.... There are no two demands upon which all the radicals and trade unionists are more ardently united than those for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and for the affirmative recognition of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing."

After pointing out that both the Republican and Democratic platforms were silent on injunctions, and that on the second question the Republican platform was also silent, while the Democratic Party gave a temperate endorsement of collective bargaining, "On both," my report asserted, "Senator La Follette is not only explicit, but speaks in organized labor's own language. 'We favor,' he says, 'abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes and declare for complete protection of the rights of farmers and industrial workers to organize, bargain collectively through representatives of their choosing, and conduct without hindrance cooperative enterprises.'"

This innocuous declaration in the La Follette platform I attempted to distort into a statement of revolutionary significance, despite the fact that the Democratic Platform of 1896 was more emphatic and that many platforms of the old parties had taken a similar position.

"The La Follette-for-President platform," said my report in pompous language, "is not a platform of traditional American Democracy. It is a platform of Revolutionary Socialism, and Revolutionary Socialism is nothing but a prelude to Bolshevism."

"The Communists believe in political action. They believe that by capturing the power of government, they can use that power to abolish the old laws and enact laws favoring the poor farmers and workers, and when the working class is ready for the Social-Revolution, the capitalist class is to be destroyed by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, peacefully if possible, by force of necessity."

"The Socialists are not far behind the Communists in regard to the ultimate aims of a Socialist Labor Government."

Quoting La Follette

I QUOTED from La Follette's statement to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, in which he said: "After long experience in public life and painstaking consideration of the present state of public affairs, I am convinced that the time has come for a *militant* political movement independent of the two old party organizations and responsive to the needs and sentiment of the common people." Quotations from planks in the La Follette platform calling for freedom of speech, press and assemblage, denouncing the American foreign policy in Latin America, criticizing the State Department, calling for revision of the Versailles treaty, and advocating abolition of conscription, were also included in my survey.

Turning to the Socialist platform, I inserted this quotation: "We rejoice in the awakening of the industrial and agricultural producers and we hail as a concrete evidence of such awakening the Conference for Progressive Political Action and the nomination of Senator Robert M. La Follette for President and Senator Burton K. Wheeler for Vice-President. Confident that this movement must lead

to the organization of a powerful labor party, the foundation of which is already laid, the Socialist Party pledges its fullest support." This statement that the Socialist Party looked on the La Follette movement as the beginning of a labor party, I hitched up to a prediction that "The society of masters and servants shall be replaced by a commonwealth of joint owners and workers for the common good." I declared with great energy, "Senator La Follette is running for President on a Socialist platform."

Characterizing La Follette's repudiation of the Communists as "a life-saving manoeuvre," I said: "La Follette is not an amateur on the political field. He knows too well that it is more profitable to admit his belief in the Social Revolution by the ballot than in the Social Revolution by force." The statement of Charles E. Ruthenberg, General Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party, I quoted and compared with the statements from Socialists and with La Follette's own statement about "a militant political movement independent of the two old party organizations." Ruthenberg had written: "The Workers (Communist) Party of America raises the banner of independent working class action, the establishment of a workers and farmers government and the overthrow of the capitalist system."

I was careful to skip quickly over the fact that the Communists were then vigorously supporting their own candidate. By attributing exaggerated meaning to the general statements of La Follette and trying to paint them as Socialistic and Communistic, I thought that my pretense that the ill-feeling between La Follette and the Communists was a bluff might be believed by some. Anyhow, I did not care to go much farther, and I had put my name to no statement that might be libelous or actionable.

Mysterious Maneuvers

IN addition to my two general reports, Russell prepared a long report about the work supposed to have been done by his organization from August 1 to August 15. It was full of details of mysterious manoeuvres of his secret operatives who, he claimed, had been working day and night to track down the "Bolshevik, La Follette"! Closing, Russell stated that within three or four weeks he would produce all evidence needed to kill La Follette politically.

Every two or three days Russell supplied his clients with the wildest tales imaginable. Apparently he was making great progress in their estimation, for one day he came to the office in an exceedingly cheerful mood, and said that the prospects of getting the \$50,000 were excellent. Meanwhile, he was not neglecting his work for the National Surety Company and other insurance companies in the capacity of "Consulting Criminal Engineer".

Meanwhile, I started a little cross-investigation of Russell. I wanted to find out who that employer of his was. I engaged a trusted man to follow him everywhere he went. For more than a week all efforts were fruitless. Then one day my assistant followed Russell to a restaurant on lower Broadway where the Major met another man. My agent was able to secure a seat near Russell's table and overhear a few words of their conversation. What he heard was enough to convince him that the man who was with Russell knew all about the investigation. By following the stranger to his own office, my man ascertained that the former was Van Ness Harwood, a newspaper man. I was satisfied that Harwood was directing the investigation of La Follette. How to make Russell

admit it, was another matter. The opportunity came sooner than I expected.

One day when I was alone in my office, my assistant who was "shadowing" Harwood, telephoned that Russell was in Harwood's office. "Now-is the time to act," I told myself. At once I called up Harwood's office. It was Harwood himself on the other end of the line. I told him that I wanted to speak with Major Russell at once on a very important matter. "There is nobody by that name in this office," replied Harwood. For a moment I was nettled. Was it possible that my assistant had made a mistake? I decided on a desperate move.

"Please tell the Major," I said, "that something important happened in the La Follette case." Russell at once got on the line. In a voice that fairly trembled with excitement, he asked me not to talk over the telephone about the matter, for he was going to the office at once. The moment I hung up the receiver, I regretted the act. How was I to explain to Russell the "Something" that happened in the La Follette case? Certainly I must never admit that I had tricked him in order to learn who was his backer. I was in a fine kettle of fish. But experience had taught me to act quickly, so by the time Russell arrived, I had a perfectly good story ready. He entered pale and excited.

I told him this story to explain my sudden call: While Russell was out, I had, I claimed, received a long-distance call from from N-1 in Chicago. N-1 stated that he had obtained very important information pertaining to the subject of our investigation. It was of such a nature that he did not dare entrust it to the mails or the telegraph. The operative wanted to know what to do. Russell, it was plain, was immensely relieved. He had been worrying lest something had gone wrong with the investigation. "Wire N-1 to meet you in Cleveland," said Russell. "You are leaving New York tomorrow. I will follow you in a few days, as there are quite a number of matters we must attend to in Cleveland. See N-1 and act on his information in any way that you think best. Here is some money for your expenses. See me tomorrow before you leave." The first thing I did after leaving the office was to send the following telegram to N-1:

Meet me Cleveland, Hotel Statler, September second. Very important that you do not communicate with Russell until you see me.

I went home and did some hard thinking. Did Russell deliberately keep silent about my call of Harwood's office? Would he retaliate by having me "shadowed"? Didn't he wonder how I knew who to telephone? Or had he simply overlooked the fact that I had gotten information which did not come from him? I doubted that. I was sure he did not overlook many things.

But when I next saw Russell, he set my mind at rest on that score by asking me, point-blank? "What do you know about Harwood? How did you know I was in his office when you telephoned me?"

I met the issue squarely. "Major," I responded, "you should have known that it is useless to attempt to hide from me the identity of the people you are dealing with in this case. For years I worked for prominent and influential men and interests, so naturally I have many valuable connections. I was, therefore, able in a quite way to ascertain the names of the persons who are sponsoring this investigation." Russell's face was a study.

The man was visibly puzzled. Finally he said: "I suppose you will not believe it, but Harwood is only the go-between for my client and myself, and even I do not know who the client is. Harwood has never told me."

"That is queer," I said. "I was under the impression that you were dealing with your client direct. I never dreamed otherwise, for you told me what your client expected you to do and that you had been paid \$10,000 for conducting the preliminary investigation. Was all that done through a go-between?"

"Strange as it may look to you," answered Russell, "that is exactly what happened, and up to this time, I have not the slightest idea who is paying me for our work. However, Harwood assured me a few days ago that I shall be put in direct contact with the client after we compile all the data in the case." Russell added that within another two weeks he expected to know who the client really was. He dropped the matter then.

N-1's Information

THAT same afternoon I left for Cleveland. There I met our operative from Chicago and explained to him what happened in New York. I warned him to be careful and not betray himself when he met Russell. We invented a yarn to tell Russell regarding the important information N-1 supposed to have. Then I sent the operative back to Chicago and wired Russell that the operative's information could not be used until I should obtain corroborative evidence. Several days later I received from Russell the following letter:

Dear Jack:

I just had a conference with Harwood and some other Gentlemen. The client demands that we get something on Burton K. Wheeler. I was given to understand that they do not care how we get the goods so long as we get it, and it serves the purpose. Double your efforts, my boy, and get something that will look real good. When are you going to Detroit?—C. E. RUSSELL.

I paid no attention to Russell's letter. I went to Detroit where I wired Russell for instructions. He telegraphed back:

Dr. James Anderson,

Hotel Statler, Detroit, Mich.

Meet me Statler Cleveland Sunday morning. Have your friend with you.. Wire receipt of this tonight to office.

MAJOR RUSSELL.

I wired our Chicago operative to come to Cleveland at the time requested by Russell and he did so. Russell, immediately on arrival, questioned N-1 about the "important information" he was supposed to have about La Follette. The operative came out of the cross-examination with flying colors. On the same day I was present at a conference between Russell and a man who called himself Molner. From Molner we heard a fantastic story about a secret meeting between Young Bob La Follette and some radical leaders. (See Russell's report), I did not hesitate to tell Russell that Molner's story was a cheap fabrication and that I did not want to have anything to do with it, Russell stated that he was willing to assume full responsibility in the matter. He added that he was going to submit Molner's declarations as positive evidence against Senator La Follette. The next day Russell prepared the statement and Molner signed it.

To be Continued.

Two Tragedies of Errors

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

Trials and Tribulations at Real Silk

Psychology of a Personnel Man

Specific examples help more than anything else to reveal the present labor situation in this country. Two glimpses of "free" and "prosperous" workers are here given—from Mr. Budenz's actual experiences out in the field. The Real Silk crisis gives ample opportunity to study company unionism and personnel management at work. The Buffalo account shows anti-unionism is a further stage. In both cases, the "yellow dog" contract is the basic instrument of oppression.

IN the best of seasons and on the brightest of days, Massachusetts Avenue appears sadly run down at the heel. When night and a slow winter rain are added, the thoroughfare becomes almost forbidding in its shadowy repulsiveness. Its lights blink murkily yellow, and a few dark forms hurrying along or slinking into a doorway that leads to a cheap apartment are its sole signs of life.

Beg pardon. We are in error. There is light and life enough in King's poolroom, at this hour of 11. The boys from the Real Silk night force have come out from the back entrance of the mill for a bite of lunch and a game of what has been dignified as "billiards."

Suddenly an electric current goes through the room.

"Budenz is here!" goes in a whisper from man to man.

That is a commonplace statement enough, and the small, insignificant looking man-at whom they all gaze is commonplace, too, for all that. They gaze at him, but say nothing. To speak to him would be "high treason" to the company, leading to a "third degree" and a summary dismissal. Nor does he encourage conversation. He walks to a chair near a pool table and quietly sits down. That is all.

Nothing dramatic in that scene. Not in itself. The dramatic has been furnished by the Real Silk Company. The very fact that these men must stand as though they were mutes, makes that man Budenz amount to much for them. He represents their liberty, for he represents the union.

They cannot speak, but they CAN look. The company has not yet provided blinders for them. And by their looks they convey their feelings—that they intend to be freemen. They can also wink, on the sly, when no labor spy can see them. And eye language in every bit as eloquent as tongue language, even more so at this time and place.

So it goes also in the daytime—not only in the poolroom, but in restaurants and on the avenue. Wherever the union representative goes, there go smiles, winks and significant gazes. No talk, however; talk is verboten. The famed "Real Silk" spirit is at work—and it proves to be a "Yellow Dog" spirit.

A Queer Agitator.

WHEREVER the union representative travels through broad and free Indianapolis, he is followed by two trusty detectives. Of course, they are not exceedingly diligent on their job. It is a tiresome and thankless task. But they can find nothing sensational about his conduct. He comes and goes—to and from Indianapolis and other cities. He appears to see no one. He calls no one to see him. His only companions are those discharged men still remaining in the city. And yet—that discontent continues to boil and bubble and burst forth within the mill. It is discovered everywhere. Where it is not discovered, it exists. It is among the confidants of the company, and the union seems to have the most amazing information. They send it out in letters to the men, which are dutifully turned in by this sneak and that snooper—themselves double-crossing the management and spreading discontent at the same time.

This bizarre situation in the heart of democratic Middle America continues, as all sides await breathlessly the report of the Tri-Church Commission. That body has come to the mill and looked things over. It has examined the E. M. B. A. It has analyzed the union conditions in Philadelphia. What it will say or when it will say it remains uncertain. And yet—that discontent spreads and redoubles itself in energy, secretly, furtively, but none the less deep.

There must be a reason for this. Indeed, there is a reason. Donald Edison and Theodore Alberto stated it clearly at their trial for "treason to Real Silk" before the E. M. B. A. Board. This trial occurred while the Church Commission was in Indianapolis, and while the members of that Commission were present at the Board meeting. We have already traced (in December) the adventures of Edison and Alberto with the personnel man, Mr. Arthur Zinkin; up to the coming of the Commission. They were given two weeks to "get the goods on Budenz."

"The Trouble Is—"

AT the trial, they boldly told their story in detail. They recited the promises made and broken by Mr. Zinkin in the name of the company. They outlined the event which occasioned their falling afoul of the "Real Silk spirit"—on that evening when Mr. Charles Leeke, chairman of the E. M. B. A. volunteered, with sobbing voice, to advise the night force against the union. At that time, Edison and Alberto had told Mr. Leeke very frankly that the "trouble at Real Silk is Mr. Zinkin."

It was then that Mr. Leeke had told them that they should have put no trust in Mr. Zinkin's previous flowery promises. "And yet, now, you come to us and tell us to trust the man whose promises you say we should have

distrusted in the beginning!" That had been their answer. They gave the entire account of that to the E. M. B. A. Board and the Church Commission. It was the first thing approaching a trial that had ever been held at the Real Silk Mills—and was only so because the presence of the Church Commission gave the boys some hope that the facts would get out to the world.

For the first time, also, the discharged men's case was placed in the hands of a sub-committee. Weeks have passed and the report of this sub-committee has never been given out—to the discharged men themselves or to any one else. In other words, the E. M. B. A. Board is stumped. It is stumped, because the management is stumped. Not hearing its master's voice, it cannot act.

The boys demanded that they be faced with their accusers. This was never done. Mr. Zinkin, who made the charges, flatly refused to present such evidence. Any slimy half-man who desires to take out a grudge against his fellows by reporting them to the management is protected by this system. It is not the first time that fake reports have been turned in to the Real Silk Company. Faking to the management is the favorite game in the mills, as loyalty is non-existent.

Neither has any decision been handled down in the case of John Brooks, which came up at about the same time as the Alberto Edison business. From the very beginning, Brooks has had no contact with the union. He took no part in any agitation whatsoever. "Mum" was his watchword. What happened to him? He was accused, falsely, by Mr. Zinkin of having asked a helper to join the organization and of having contacts with me. Again, no evidence was produced. Again was the man let out without a scintilla of evidence against him. The lying word of the informer was taken in preference to that of the man accused.

When to this is added the "third degrees" of the company, the accusations made against men without cause that they deal with me, the speeches made about me to the men—it is no wonder that discontent continues. The company is the union's best advertisement. It keeps the union spirit alive, without the turning of a hand on our part. It spreads foolish stories which are easily disproved. It says, for example, that Budenz has lost seven strikes. This is a tale made out of whole-cloth, evidently furnished by some moron like MacDonald. Perhaps the company would publish in the E. M. B. A. BUILDER just when and where these strikes took place. They are hereby challenged to do so.

Introducing Mr. Zinkin.

LET us look, for a moment, at the man responsible for this chaotic condition—Mr. Zinkin. It will give us a close-up view of a personnel man, who spreads discontent. He is an aristocrat by instinct, loving comfort and the good things of this world. He has his own set of social ideals and might even plead guilty, in the proper company, to radical leanings. He has sometimes criticised the Real Silk policy, which he enforces, to other men in Indianapolis. He has even gone so far as to resign on numerous occasions. But a salary increase always stilled the small voice of social conscience. He has a secret contempt for the intelligence of the workers with whom he deals—and that is his greatest mistake. This was shown in the much heralded "report card system", introduced in Sep-

STIMULATING CONFERENCES

Out of Brookwood's recent well attended Youth conference have come new ideas and inspiration for the organizing of young workers. Lack of space has prevented us from presenting them in this issue.

Incidentally, the response to this conference persuaded the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, following an excellent report by Abraham Lefkowitz, to consider the feasibility of holding a similar but larger conference in this city.

The Philadelphia conference on "How to Organize the Unorganized" is close at hand. We are certain that it, too, will bring new light upon this problem. At no time was it more needed than at present. We look forward to an interesting and stimulating conference, and to see many LABOR AGE readers there.

tember. The report card was somewhat like the cards given out in schools. It showed the worker's conduct in spirit, efficiency and attendance. As was seen clearly in the Boop case (mentioned in our November issue), it was a club designed to intimidate the men. The report card idea, however, has flickered out. The card is no longer given. Perhaps the great number that adorned the floors for the sweepers to sweep up at night had something to do with the speedy discontinuance. Perhaps the remarks of the men—"Go home and get your mother to sign it"—had some added effect.

The same misunderstanding of the men has been shown in many other ways—particularly in the choice of those to act as labor spies. They have either boldly refused to serve in this capacity, or have deceived the company in many instances. (Later on, when it is possible to do so, names, dates and facts will be given full publicity.) Indeed, Mr. Zinkin's conduct in this test of Real Silk's "self government" indicates that a personnel man, in a pinch, is little less than a high grade labor spy. It should not be wondered if he were not disturbed at the \$6 per head paid to A. R. MacDonald for merely introducing the "yellow dog" contract into the mills. It was a nice piece of "easy money" for the said MacDonald.

Mr. Zinkin's reward is not per head. It is \$15,000 per year. There is the stumbling block. Any one who looks into the windows of his book shop—he runs this book shop on the side—can sympathize with his love for fine things and good books. The \$15,000 gets those things. He has not yet learned the beauty of the philosophy of our beloved American, Henry Thoreau. It is this struggle—between what he professes to know is right and what he has to do to gain funds—that blinds his normally alert mind. At times, he seems indifferent to the interests of Real Silk and even oblivious to the discontent all about him. At others, he lashes out and hits right and left, punishing the "innocent" as well as the "guilty." It is an interesting study in the psychology of injustice.

Be that as it may, it is this snooping, sniping, erratic policy—passing under the title of "new relations in industry"—that has created the unrest in Real Silk and continues to fan it into flame. Every Real Silk worker will tell you in whispers that this is so. They have much more intelligence than Mr. Zinkin has imagined.

Mysteries of the Millfay Mill

An Inefficiency Man Demonstrates How Not to Do It

JOHAN ANTONIEWICZ was called down to the office. He hesitated to go. Down there was the threatening Mr. Lebo. He had been just "Harry Lebo" once, a fixer. Two years ago or so he had become superintendent. Upon that momentous occasion, he announced that hereafter he was to be known as "Mr. Lebo"—and MR. Lebo he became.

With halting step, John went into Mr. Lebo's sanctum. He was asked to sign a contract with the company—a "yellow dog" contract, as it turned out to be. John did not like to sign anything on such short notice. Lebo was insistent. "You are intoxicated, and you know you are," John was reminded. "It would be easy for me to send you to jail for trying to work in a drunken condition. You had better sign and stand in with the company." John regarded that as a persuasive argument. He signed on the dotted line.

When he got up-stairs, his conscious pricked him. He told his fellow-workers what he had done. They raised merry Christmas with him. He had signed away his rights to be a freeman, they contended. Realizing the error of his action, he returned to the office and to Lebo.

John asked to see the contract he had signed. When he had had a sufficiently good look at it, he refused to give it back. The superintendent attempted to wrest it from him. After a struggle, John escaped and ran out the back door of the mill. Without a moment's hesitation, he jumped over the back fence—a six foot picket affair, almost being impaled on the the pickets as he did so.

Arriving safely at his home, John showed the contract to his brother. The brother threw it into a stove, regarding it as an infectious disease. But John rescued it from the fire—and its charred remains now rest in the hands of Carl Holderman, representative of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

A Dignified Foreman and 70 Hours.

THAT was on Saturday—the last one in October, 1927. A few hours after John's hasty departure from the mill, the foreman, Max Mosolf, presented himself at John's house. Max is a young man, who believes that the dignity of the foreman's job is a sufficient reward for betraying his fellow-workers. He said as much to me, at his home one evening. At that, he is sadly underpaid, and a union knitter would sneer at the wage that Max receives for his coveted work of directing other men. But DIGNITY is Max's strong point.

Max came to John for the contract. He demanded it in the name of the Millfay Company. John had taken the property of the company! They did not exactly state that he, too, had become its property through the contract; but that was the veiled idea. John refused to become anybody's property, and would not turn over the contract.

Now, John had been one of the many Polish-American young men who had been working 70 hours a week steadily at the Millfay mill. Two of their days of labor were 14 hours in duration. They felt that these hours were too long, particularly as each was responsible for two ma-

chines. This is a gruelling task, a full fashioned hosiery machine has a delicate instrument, 40 feet long, requiring careful attention. It contains thousands of needles, each one of which has to be in good condition. During the day, each knitter was assisted by a helper-operator on one of his machines. But at the zero hour of his energy—after 5:30 o'clock—this helper was taken from him and the knitter was obliged to continue the 14 hour grind alone. It was not charity but necessity which caused the company to consider the helpers. Being under 18 years of age, these boys are prohibited by law from working over certain specified hours.

Fines—For a Breath of Fresh Air.

SEVENTY hours per week was not all. There was also the fining system. Mr. Lebo brought in the 70 hour week. He strengthened the fining system. By attempting to work the machines with cheap and inexperienced labor, he injured these expensive machines in a frightful manner. So bad did they become, that it was impossible to open the windows in summer, as it would affect their operation. It is only a mightily mishandled machine which gets in that shape, particularly in the short time that many of Millfay's machines have been in operation. The boys were compelled to work in a stuffy, foul "Turkish bath." To protect the machines, their health was attacked. If any adventuresome one dared to open a window, for a breath of fresh air, he was fined \$1, which was deducted from his wages at the end of the week.

The toilet on each floor has three compartments for the workers, as the law requires. Only one worker could enter it at a time, nevertheless. Should a second worker venture in while a first was there, he was fined \$1. That was to prevent discussion of their grievances. Were they in the summertime, to go for drinking water more than the foreman or bookkeeper or superintendent thought was fit, they were fined again. One boy was "docked" for dropping a wrench accidentally on the floor. One was fined \$2.50 for a pardonable mistake on a stocking, for a loss of silk to the company of from 3 to 5 cents!

They were fined for all breakages in machinery, whether such were unavoidable or not. They were charged for their needles—an unheard-of custom—more than the company actually paid for such needles. In addition, if they used up more than 400 needles a month on the two machines, they were fined an added \$2.50. When it is understood that the use of 400 needles a month on one machine is not an unusual thing, the appropriateness of the fine can be appreciated.

So extensive was this fining system that the workers frequently found themselves short from 5 to 50 per cent of their wages. One boy worked 11 hours on a Monday, earned \$7 and at the end of the day owed the company \$2! He has been fined \$9 during that particular 11 hours. Had agitation not come into the mill, the workers would probably have been paying the company for the privilege of working.

This fining system was all the more unjust, in that the

OPEN YOUR HEARTS

The Miners Look to You

Help the miners of Pennsylvania. For ten long months they have been on strike against the Coal Trust and the autocratic industrial barons that dominate the state. They are sadly in need of clothing, food and money. The situation is desperate. Women and children, thousands of them, are starving. They are the innocent victims of the Mellon-Morgan plunderbund and the conscienceless open shop drive of the coal barons and the industrial magnates of the Keystone State.

Remember the miners are fighting your and all our battles. They are in the front line trenches and should they lose—labor everywhere will lose.

Don't let the children go hungry, don't let the mothers starve, don't let the miners break and retreat, demoralized and beaten.

They are suffering untold misery. The kiddies have no one to help them but you, organized labor and its friends. They asked the Red Cross for aid but that institution though taking millions of dollars from trade union men in their annual drives has not a nickel for the children of the miners. Employers won't help, the Red Cross won't help, then you must. As understanding union men and women, citizens of the country, go to their rescue.

The miners are making the greatest fight of the age. They must have your support or all is lost.

As was once said on another occasion when there was a call for help to relieve suffering humanity—Help them. Give without stint, give until it hurts, give now before it is too late. Send clothing, food and money to William Hargest, Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

workers were far underpaid according to union standards without any deductions. For running two machines, they actually got \$15 a week less than a union man gets for running one machine. In other words, for turning out 120 dozens of stockings, they were paid less than the union man for turning out 60 dozen. Of course, the work was not carefully done, as in a union mill. Of course, there was a waste on the part of the management. Of course, the machines were made into near-rattletraps by the use of half-baked workers. It was a splendid example of an Inefficiency Man on the job.

The policy of the company, under the enlightened reign of Mr. Lebo, has been to ruin its machines by an uninformed and underpaid working force. The men are not permitted to know anything about their machines. Five years have passed in some cases, and they know as little today (so far as the company is concerned) as they did at the beginning. There has, necessarily, been much bootlegging of information. But it has been haphazard and only partly effective. The company wishes to produce a force of robots on a highly delicate machine. And that does not work.

That is one of the several mysteries of the Millfay Mill. The management has found unwilling slave labor will not work efficiently. And yet, it persistently refuses to follow wiser policies. It is easier, it evidently thinks, to make the workers pay for management's mistakes.

"Man O' War" Duffy.

ANOTHER mystery is the control of the mill itself. Or rather, why its control has been concealed with so much pains. The man behind the gun is none other than Charles Duffy, millionaire owner of the Duffy Silk Mills, large silk-throwing concern. He owns the Millfay Building. He manages the Millfay Company minutely and has directed the lockout which followed Antoniewicz's

action and the refusal of the other boys—at the lead of John Hoffman and Stanley Severyn—to sign the "yellow dog." His license number, the boys contend, was seen on the car which aided certain detective-thugs to get away, after beating up a striker. His poor brother-in-law, Albert Sticher, is Treasurer of the Millfay Company. Despite this, great pains have been taken to keep Duffy's name out of the situation. He himself has moved Heaven and Earth to keep the whole business, incidentally, out of the local Buffalo newspapers. Finally, however, the ostensible president of the company, a young lawyer named Barrett, did admit Duffy's control of the mill to the **DAILY NEWS RECORD**.

Perhaps business reasons have influenced "Man o' War" Duffy, as he is known, because of his belligerent character—to hide his connection with his own mill. Perhaps he finds it more comfortable to pose as a benevolent employer at his favorite exclusive riding club than to have the truth come out into the light. Perhaps he does not wish the workers to know that the Duffy Silk Mills, where 2,000 girl workers are exploited, and the Millfay concern are interlinked. Whatever his reasons, they are all being defeated by the present lockout. The locked-out men refused to go back under the "yellow dog" contract. They have declared the lock-out a strike, insisting on the end of long work-hours and the abolition of the fining system. Lebo's frantic efforts to compel their return has had little effect, as the strike goes into the 10th week. What further events occur, we shall report later—together with some of the almost unbelievable stories of the boys as to what has been happening inside the mill. If the strikers maintain their present determination, there can be little doubt of the outcome. A Citizens' Committee is looking into the situation, and its report should have interesting repercussions. Gradually, some of the mysteries of the Millfay Mill will be solved.

Tales of Two Hemispheres



It's all in the point of view. Lindy is the schoolboy's hero. All that is fine and noble in America claims him. And so do fat-paunched politicians and business men, according to the cartoon by Thomas in the DETROIT NEWS. To them this tall, slender, modest youth is "a nice boy" whose good will flights mean more business and a tighter hold on Mexico and South America.

The thoughts and hopes of Europe are upon peace and disarmament, and now its "House of Peace", depicted by the NOTENKRAKER, Amsterdam, has been rocked by Coolidge's "defence estimates".

German steel workers are again in conflict with their employers. "The hunger tocsin peals over Germany from the works of the steel industry. For us," adds the cartoonist A. Hahn, Jr., in the same paper, "a call to arms."

HERE and THERE

Among American Workers

Taking the good news of the month first **LABOR AGE** reports the New York electrical workers defeating the open shoppers and winning a new agreement when cynics were saying they would go bust; navy yard workers, printers and pressmen have boosted their wages and the subway workers took the first injunction bout with the Interboro Rapid Transit Co., one of the toughest public utilities in the business.

Good enough! But do not forget that the labor movement is fighting for its life in the soft coal fields and that wages are still being cut in the New England textile mills.

* * *

Told in tabloid style the story of the electrical workers runs like this: Last winter the wire patchers' union wiped a dirty slate clean. After a terrific internal struggle it fired 17 local officials after hearings on graft charges. The grafters started a barrage of law suits. Then the open shop employers began their attack. They aided the grafters, supported dual unions and maligned H. H. Broach, the international vice-president in charge of the clean-up. The open shoppers' game was to harass the union and weaken it, so that by December 31, the union contractors would not consider it worth while to renew an agreement that was expiring on that date.

But the wire patchers' organization fooled the open shoppers. With the grafters out the union ran better, like a decarbonized automobile engine. New members joined. When December came not a shop was lost.

* * *

And quietly at the same time the metal tradesmen in navy yards over the country were winning one to three cents an hour more through the Naval Wage Board, which included John P. Frey, secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

* * *

A dollar-a-week more also dropped into the pay envelopes of job printers and job pressmen, working in union plants in New York. And the printers' agreement runs for five years, and

brings another dollar raise every January till 1932. That means that day shift typos get \$56 now, and will draw \$60-a-week the final year of the pact. Night shift men get \$3 more. The new pressmen's wages run to \$56 for cylinder pressmen and \$47 for ordinary job pressmen.

More money, this, for the men who are working, but a good many printing trades men are walking the streets this winter. Inspite of all the Hurrah stuff from Charlie Schwab and other Wall Street optimists prosperity is still rainbow stuff.

* * *

LABOR AGE readers remember last month's news of the 30-cent a day award by a federal arbitration board to 55,000 firemen and enginemen on railroad lines west of Chicago. Now the companies are trying to welch. They are petitioning the U. S. District Court in Chicago to void the award on technical grounds. Four railroads in California are asking a U. S. district court judge to nullify another federal arbitration award establishing the 8-hour day on ferry boats and raising the ferrymen \$10 a month.

If the railroad managers think firemen don't earn their money suppose they take a shovel into an engine cab and find how a shift feels.

* * *

Derailing of the first subway injunction was a good break for labor. The Interboro got this writ after the 1926 strike. It was intended to stop the campaign of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. But the New York Court of Appeals has thrown out the injunction and this kills the contempt proceedings against James H. Coleman and other organizers.

Labor's big test comes with the Interboro's application for a second writ, to forbid the entire A. F. of L.—not merely one union—from attempting to organize the subway employes.

* * *

Under the personal direction of President William Green, the A. F. of L. is entering the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the Shipstead bill. This bill aims to limit the in-

junction powers of judges. Injunctions are almost weekly occurrences. One of the latest writs against labor is in Minneapolis, Minn., where upholsterers are forbidden to picket the plant of the Brooks Parlor Furniture Co.

* * *

January was another bloody month in Colorado. Two miners were shot to death in Walsenburg, making eight murdered in the state since the strike began. But high-powered rifles are not digging coal. Failing to get production Mr. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. is offering men another 50-cent-a-day raise, making \$6.52-a-day. But strikers demand the Jacksonville scale, pit committees and checkweighmen.

In Pennsylvania and Ohio the United Mine Workers' members are waiting out the winter with the aid of relief from their union and other trades. Money and carloads of clothing are going to the strike zone but the best is not enough and the life of this great union is threatened.

* * *

What happens to the unorganized is again shown in New England where 55,000 textile workers' wages have been slashed 10 per cent.

* * *

In the South, too, wages are being further reduced. But we are glad to report an organization movement, through a Tri-City conference in central North Carolina, inspired by a former Brookwood student, Alfred Hoffman, the southern representative of the full fashioned hosiery workers.

* * *

And congratulations also to the 19 Yale students arrested for passing out literature in New Haven exposing bad working conditions in the shops of Stern & Merritt, Berkman & Adler, neckwear firms that ran away from New York a year ago in the effort to escape the Neckwear Workers' Union.

* * *

This department was prepared with the assistance of Brookwood Labor College students and Art Shields of the Federated Press.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

AN APPEAL FOR UNCOMMON SENSE

"What's to Be Done?" Has an Answer

A stout and florid manufacturer in a pink silk shirt, sitting next to the window in the smoking room of a westbound train out of Boston, pointed with a jerk of his thumb to a group of men in overalls.

"Trouble with those fellows is, never know when they're well off," he growled. "No matter how much you pay 'em, always want more." — From Foster and Catchings, "ROAD TO PLENTY," NEW YORK EVENING POST, January 16, 1928.

THERE we have a description of the average employer, presented in a reactionary paper by two conservative economists. The stout and florid manufacturer fails to see the pallid faces of the unemployed, as they bid farewell to the Little Gray Man of the account. With all his army of personnel men, he falls short of grasping the workers' real problems or of divining their real thoughts.

Foster and Catchings have their own solution for the unemployment menace, again at our doors today. With that we need not concern ourselves now, as theirs is a very half-way measure. We are confronted with unemployment—and much more. There is this mis-fire psychology of the anti-union employer. There is the organized campaign to reduce the working population to a state of servility.

What shall we do about it? Is the American Labor Movement helpless?

When we go over our books and look at the deficit and credit sides of the ledger, we can see many red marks. We did not advance as we should, during the period of "prosperity". On the whole, we are not prepared to tussle with the issue of depression. Unions which put drive and intelli-

gence into their organizing campaigns, find themselves handicapped by the lethargy and impotence in the local labor groups.

There must be revival, we submit, right down at the roots. The pressure for such revival must come, naturally, in part from the outside. To achieve such an end, we suggest:

1. An appeal in stirring and definite terms to the ideal of the workers. We must make them feel their power. We must approach them no longer in an apologetic tone. We must make them see that their great goal is workers' control, with halts and truces along the way, but nevertheless headed toward more and more power.

2. The old hand-over of jurisdictional disputes must be wiped out. Everywhere that one goes, the inter-union battle over jurisdiction has led to an injury to workers' morale. Closer unity toward federation in some instances and outright industrial unionism in the factory industries is an imperative necessity. It cannot be delayed.

3. There must be a carefully worked-out campaign among the young workers. They are our great hope. They are looking at the new conditions and growing up with them. We must think in their terms and in that way make them think in the way of organization. It is the young workers who will decide the future of the American Labor Movement.

4. More attention should be paid the unskilled and semi-skilled. An educational campaign among the skilled to make them realize the value of organizing the unskilled is a crying need. Mass Production is reducing the number of skilled workers to a minimum.

To make a long story short, we need Uncommon Sense to meet a new, uncommon state of affairs.

YELLOW DOGGEREL

Sargent-Edgerton Chorus of Sanctimoniousness

OUR trusty dictionary defines "doggerel" as "Low in style, and irregular in measure; mean or undignified; trivial." Also, as "Burlesque, absurd, mongrel."

It is exactly these nicely chosen adjectives which come to mind in considering the weird utterances of President John Edgerton of the National Association of Manufacturers and his faithful "Yes" man, Noel Sargent.

President John denies vigorously that his association is in any conspiracy with the I. R. T. in support of its company union. In the next breath, nevertheless, he says a few beautiful words for the company union idea. That is damning that noble effort, certainly, with praise from a dubious quarter. "Open shop" is written in the very vitals of the Manufacturers' Association. Its praise of the company union merely indicates again that that device of Humbugery is an anti-union scheme and nothing else.

Noel Sargent, speaking before the Congregational church group, is stricken to the heart at the thought that his association should be accused of being anti-union. Dear, no! They are only more interested in the company union!

Open shop—company union—yellow dog contract—injunction—labor spies: These are the subject matter of the new Yellow Doggerel. They all go hand in hand—and five sobs cannot hide the alliance. "Burlesque" is scarcely a strong enough term to apply to the words of those weeping willows, Edgerton and Sargent.

OUR OWN SUICIDE CLUB

ARE you contemplating suicide? If so, please get in touch with us. There is a long, slow method that should satisfy all the suicide's desire for shuffling off this mortal coil.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics is the innocent cause of our suggestion. Its latest report discloses that unemployment in October of this year was at a serious mark. That month's average for employment is lower than any month since September, 1924.

Steadily, there has been a reduction in jobs. We have previously recorded the cut in the Bethlehem Steel forces: from 62,350 in 1923 to 60,098 in 1925. With that went the cut in payroll from \$111,457,000 in 1923 to \$107,771,000 in 1925. Now, we see the General Motors Corporation at the same old trick. Workers' production per man has gone up; therefore, lay off the workers. In 1925 the General Motors Corporation employed 7,987 fewer workmen, with a payroll cut of \$1,543,000.

Let us remind you, that at the same time the profits of General Motors boomed and soared, until they reached the highest peak in all industrial history this last year.

What can the workers do about this? For one thing, they can DO NOTHING. That will lead to a steady decrease of jobs—and our Suicide Club will be in full swing. Unemployment over a long period is merely modified suicide. For another, they can begin to make themselves the masters of industry. They can also, begin to make themselves the masters of the State—which gives them no present aid in employment or in temporary employment through well worked-out public enterprises.

SO THIS IS PROSPERITY!

HAVE we been singing a too plaintive tune? For some little time we have been alluding to the oncoming depression. What's more: We have told why it was coming. The Big Babbittariat have grabbed too much. The workers have not enough money to buy back what they produce. Ergo—the Deluge!

We are now aided and abetted in these prophecies by none other than the ANNALIST, published by the NEW YORK TIMES.

Says that economic weekly on December 16th: "There is no particular gain in trying to close one's eyes to large and significant business facts. . . . It is the part of business wisdom to admit the fact of a present recession of considerable magnitude and the necessity of relying upon something more substantial than hope by way of remedy."

A serious cause for confusion, it finds, in the "prosperity talk"—"which emanates in ever-increasing volume from persons and organizations who for political and other reasons desire the continuance of a high rate of business activity." It notes the recent report of Mr. Mellon as a striking example of this cant.

Well, there are cuts for the textile workers in New England. These are in notoriously non-union mills; therefore, the old saw about unionism being "responsible" cannot be used. There are also cuts for the boot and shoe workers in some New England centers, notably Haverhill. This, friends, is Prosperity!

A THOUGHT FOR ORGANIZERS

AT first thought, we would scarcely imagine that Emil Ludwig, the famous historian, could teach us anything about organizing.

Recently he has written something about the late War that we could all take to heart. The hostility of the people toward the last war, which was nothing but a conflict of ministers," he says, "is best expressed by the lack of music that accompanied it." The only symbol that came out of the conflict, he notes, is "The Unknown Soldier," invented by a small group of British patriots.

That cause which cannot evoke music or the spirit of music is not a crusade. It is stale. It is not hitting on all fours.

That cause which cannot stir men to daring is not a winning cause. We require more of the spirit of adventure in the current movement, tempered by intelligence.

That furnishes a thought for organizers. It is the man who can stimulate the workers to devotion, who can make them feel the nobility of the fight, who will achieve the greatest success in bringing in the unorganized. He who can show them the past history of this country and the world as a great moving picture of revolt against servitude will go far, if he accompanies that vivid account with practical application.

Fire is contagious. Moral courage is contagious. The battle of the present day is not for hours and wages only. It is also for freedom—that freedom to think and act which distinguishes Man from the Animal. Fire and Courage overcome Fear, which is the chief load bearing down upon the unorganized.

Let us apply the lesson of past rebels in American history to the plane of the present class struggle. It will go far toward encouraging those who have had it drummed into them by reactionary groups that "Americanism" means militarism, blood-letting and servility. It is not the Brigadier General but the labor organizer or agitator who is the greatest champion of American Freedom. Let the organizer realize that, and drive it home without apology or reservation. Let him recall the heroism which has been shown in the ranks of the Movement itself—as fine as that which nationalistic heroes ever showed. It will give that drive to his message which the unorganized require, to make them feel the necessity of new Valley Forges and new Steel Strikes and new primitive Coal battles in the day and age that is called prosperous.

THE SHEETING WORKER

TEN per cent wage cuts rage through New England's textile centers. Indeed, wage cuts appear to be all that textiles has to offer, were we to believe the reports in the press.

Local 33 of Salem is one of those United Textile Workers' locals which is standing out like a fortress against this "easy way" to solve textile problems. It does not wish to halt, but to make headway toward better things for its 2,400 organized workers. To do that, it must hold its own ranks together in strong array and must go out into the unorganized field, to push the battle there. It is striving to do both.

As an effective auxiliary, Local 33 has recently created THE SHEETING WORKER. It will aim to do in its field what THE HOSIERY WORKER is doing for full fashioned hosiery workers. We are pleased to note this evidence of life and activity on the part of Local 33. The steps taken by it, with the cooperation of the U. T. W., are the beginning of departmentalization in textile organization. THE SHEETING WORKER, if well edited, can offset easily the various plant organs which company unionized or frankly open shop sheeting mills put forth for the befuddlement of their workers. Its strength lies in the industrial structure of its union organization. Every worker in a sheeting mill can join the ranks of Local 33. Every worker in a sheeting mill, whatever his or her operation, can find a message of hope in Local 33's organ.

CONTRACT VS. CONTRACT

Now Let the Courts Do Their Darndest?

WHEN you run up against a stone wall, there is no use to sit down and weep about it. Ways and means to scale it or to undermine it will present themselves, if we set our minds to work the thing through.

That hoary old device, the "yellow dog" contract, is not so serious a difficulty as we sometimes think it to be. If universally established, or established to any wide degree, it is nothing short of the old Involuntary Servitude—against which mankind has struggled for centuries. It can be beaten, however—and the business for us is to see that it is beaten permanently.

The independent Shoe Workers' Protective Union amended its constitution in 1926, to strike at the "yellow

WAR'S SHAMBLES



624 DEW
An illustration by Louis Bromberg in Clement Wood's
"The Outline of Man's Knowledge"
(Lewis Copeland Co.)

Death surveys horrors which America's Big Navy spokesmen predict we shall again witness in the War against "our trade rivals". To this workers voices must ring out, "We refuse to fight over oil!"

dog" contract. It made its application to membership, when approved, a contract with the worker. The consideration is the "benefits and advantages secured to him by reason of his membership therein." He binds himself to remain a member of the union until expelled, and that he will not enter into or sign any individual contract with the employer which provides that he will not become a member of the union.

This contract is now in the courts. The union has gone before the Federal judicial tribunals and asked for an injunction against the employer. That gentleman introduced the "yellow dog" contract. He now finds himself temporarily enjoined against discharging men for refusing to sign the contract. What will happen in the higher courts cannot be forecast. Whatever does happen, the gentlemen on the bench are faced with the painful alternative of performing a complete logical somersault. We will see whether the contract business works both ways.

In Other Lands

THAT WORLD OIL WAR

Socony Says It Is On

HE who has eyes can now see a number of things worth remembering.

That world oil war, long smoldering under the surface, is coming out in the open, Emboldened by American success in Mexico, the Standard of New York has boldly defied the British Royal Dutch Shell. Socony has skated out merrily on what has been thought to be very thin ice. It has defended with gusto its deals with the Soviets. It has denounced the price war in India, begun by the Dutch Shell in retaliation for the Standard's further encroachment on foreign markets.

The New York company declares that its relations with the Soviets is a "purely business proposition". It is not so long ago since our State Department threatened to sink any vessel that carried oil purchased from the "property-destroying" Soviets. But that was when the shoe was on the other foot. Then, the Royal Dutch Shell contemplated buying up "confiscated" Russian oil. The State Department acted as the Socony agent—and its bluff worked.

Sir Henri Deterding, Managing Director of the Royal Dutch, has been foaming at the mouth over the Socony's having stolen a march on his world-company. The Standard says very frankly that Sir Henri is merely crying over spilled milk. It points out that the Royal Dutch entered into long negotiations with the Soviets for the purchase of the "confiscated" oil, such negotiations ending in December,

1926. As far back as 1922, says Socony, the British company obtained 200,000 tons of Soviet oil.

The Burmah Oil Company, closely related to Royal Shell, has not only entered on a price war against the Standard's invasion of India. It has applied to the government of India for a protective tariff on petroleum, clearly aimed at the Standard. The war is costing the Royal Dutch and its associates \$12-750,000 a year, says Socony, and is cutting the Standard's receipts \$4,000,000 a year. Russian oil is the bone of contention; for Russian oil has enabled the Standard to invade the Indian market. The cost of transporting American oil to that country is too great for any extensive competition. But Russian oil has solved the problem for the Standard. It can be shipped to Indian cities at a transportation cost that worries the British interests.

On January 16th, the Socony Company brought the fight to the attention of the public, in the first statement it has ever deigned to make on the situation. Now that the battle is acknowledged by both combatants, it should be followed with greater interest by the workers. In it lies the germ of the next world war. Millions of lives may be laid down on the battlefields of far distant countries in time, for the greater glory of the Shell or Socony.

Our answer should be an obvious one. If ever the workers should resolve not to fight, for either one of these exploiters, the time is now. When the conflict comes hurtling down upon us, it will be too late.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE BY CONFERENCE.

Sir Alfred Mond, anti-Laborite, introduced profit-sharing and something like a company union in his big plants. Sir Alfred Mond, about the same time, persuaded his fellow-employers to proffer a conference on industrial peace to the trade unionists. There has been much consequent discussion among labor leaders in Britain as to what this signifies. A. J. Cook of the Miners has insisted that the union men participating in the conference should demand four fundamental conditions, involving an end of all wage cuts, the establishment of the living wage, all workers to be members of trade unions and the re-instatement of all men victimized in the last year's General Strike.

The General Council has decided, on its part, to go into the conference without conditions. Ben Turner, present chairman of the Trades Union Congress, expresses the hope that something tangible to the interest of the workers will come out of the meeting. The first conference took place this past month. What comes out of it is still un-

certain, as public announcement of its details has not yet been made. With British industry in a bad way and with the workers suffering intensely in many centers, the employers undoubtedly feel the need of allaying discontent in some definite manner. The unions, on the other hand, are disposed toward some sort of peace, if only a temporary one. The outcome of the conferences will have a decided effect on the immediate future of British labor. How the two sides can get together on any program worth while remains something of a mystery.

FOR WORKING YOUTH.

The young worker is receiving increased attention from the various labor movements of Europe. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International have joined with the Socialist Youth International in the adoption of a "minimum program for the protection of the young workers." Ten regulations are suggested, including the prohibition of all work for children up to the completion of the 14th year and the provi-

Getting There



Hello!
You Ought To
Boost
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Labor Monthly

OTHERS are doing it, why not you?
More labor unions like the leather workers, the lithographers, and others in New York City are circulating its sample copies and getting subs for it. Articles are expected from them, too. Watch for them.

John D. Nolan, president of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, Boston, Mass., praises LABOR AGE's articles on Company Unions and Yellow Dog contracts, and compliments it on its excellent work against these insidious practices.

The Lithographers' Journal for December gives LABOR AGE a full-page advertisement. It reprinted "The Mechanical Man Arrives," which appeared in the November issue, with complimentary additions, and urged lithographers to subscribe to LABOR AGE. We have already received subs from the organized lithographers and expect more from them as a result of this good boost in their journal.

Then, there's Kathryn Eastham of Portland, Ore. She has made arrangements with a local magazine stand to handle LABOR AGE, and has personally interested herself in their sale. There's an idea! Can you interest a newsdealer in the sale of LABOR AGE. Try it, and you'll help a good cause.

On December 30th an Industrial Seminar arranged by the Social Relations Commission, Congregational Churches of the U. S. met at the Broadway Tabernacle. Sample copies were distributed among those in attendance. A sub and a note of appreciation were received from Secretary Hubert

C. Herring. Since then, more subs have been received. There's another good field.

LABOR AGE made a great hit at the Youth Conference in Brookwood. Forty-eight copies of Dunn's "Company Unions", were disposed of through its representative among the delegates and visitors and 11 subs were secured. Miss Fannia M. Cohn was an enthusiastic booster at the Conference. LABOR AGE has been instrumental in getting "Company Unions" into the hands of many active unionists. Most of its material originally appeared in LABOR AGE. It is much appreciated, as it helps Labor adherents in discussing this Employers' substitute for real unionism.

LABOR AGE has arranged a series of luncheon conferences that are being held semi-monthly at the Civic Club. At the first one, held January 10th, twelve unions were represented by the group present. J. H. Coleman, Organizer, Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees, spoke on Injunctions. Prof. Paul Brissenden of Columbia University and Prof. Elizabeth Baker of Barnard College were also present; the first taking part in the discussion. On January 24 H. N Brailsford, distinguished British journalist, will talk on "The Labor Party and the Present Economic and Political Situation in Great Britain."

In this and many other ways LABOR AGE is becoming a helpful factor in the labor movement. Then, why not boost it? Subscribe for it. Put LABOR AGE on newsstands. Help to spread its message among the workers.

sion for vocational instruction after that. Night work for young workers is also prohibited, and unemployment relief and training is recommended. All national labor and Socialist movements are asked to join in a concerted campaign to put this program into effect.

The Communists have also devoted much time and energy to the young workers of the world. November saw a world conference of Communist Youth in Moscow. The

dangers of war and the necessity for standing for the Soviet Union were stressed as important tasks of the young workers. Opposition to military propaganda in factories was made a chief item in the Communist youth program.

When will the Labor Movement in America devote as much energy to the youth as is being done in Europe? The time has come for more vigorous steps along that line.



"Say It With Books"



EVALUATING AMERICA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY

"IMMIGRATION CROSSROADS", by Constantine Panunzio, Ph.D., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, 307 pp., \$2.50.

HERE the results of a very careful study of the past, present, and possible future of immigration in the United States are presented. The author, a native of Italy, treats the subject from the immigrant's point of view. He landed in Boston when he was eighteen years old, with fifty cents in his pocket. After working first with pick and shovel on the roads, and then in the lumber camps, he became a student at Maine Wesleyan Seminary and later took his degrees at Wesleyan University and Boston University. Mr. Panunzio, who is now professor of social economics at Whittier College, California, has told the moving story of his early struggles in his book, "The Soul of an Immigrant".

The first two chapters, The Laborer's New World and The Asylum of All the World, cover the period of unregulated immigration in the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. The following chapters discuss the endeavors of the U. S. to control the quality and quantity of immigration; first, barring paupers, criminals and mental defectives; then prohibiting the entrance of laborers under contract; later adding the illiterate, the politically and morally undesirable to the excluded classes; and finally by the laws of 1921 and 1924 setting definite limits to the number admissible and excluding certain European racial groups in part and Asiatic races entirely. All in all, the present drastic restrictive measures have not accomplished their purpose, according to the conclusions of the author. For example, they have greatly cut down the number of Italian immigrants but have considerably increased the number of Mexicans.

Mr. Panunzio points out that the improvements in the American workman's standard of living depend more on the changes which actually occur in relative wages, prices and production than on limitation of the numbers of new comers. Since 1921, and especially since 1924, American capitalists are willing to use land and capital, machinery, with comparative lavishness and labor with greater and greater reserve. Unfortunately, the author

has devoted one short paragraph only, p. 200-201, to this highly important and vital consequence of the present immigration policy.

Mr. Panunzio ably champions the cause of a rational, constructive and comprehensive immigration policy, a policy which, while safeguarding the interests of the United States, would at the same time attempt to preserve good will among nations. Such a constructive immigration policy would consist of four major phases, to wit: admission, distribution, incorporation, and international relations. Each of these is considered with impartiality and detachment in a separate chapter. Whereas an ideal system of immigration would aim to select the best of those seeking admission, the present system is a negative one, for it simply rejects the lowest strata of those intending to immigrate to the U. S. and admits all others.

The author of "Immigration Crossroads" does not build up a case for the open door. He simply faces the facts, both visible and intangible such as the immigrant idealism. He emphasizes the truth that the idealism inherent in the great majority of the immigrants from the oppressive and turbulent Old World may become the greatest single force for the natural Americanization of the new-comer if recognized and properly utilized.

The present study of the U. S. immigration policy stands out among the similar books on this much-abused subject by its freshness, comprehensiveness and broadness of vision. It merits to be warmly recommended to every one interested in the immigration problem.

HERMAN FRANK, Ph.D.

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The following figures are taken from Robert W. Dunn's
"Company Unions":

Year	Number of Companies Involved	Number of Workers Involved
1919	145	400,000
1922	385	700,000
1924	420	1,200,000
1926	430	1,400,000

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and

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COMPANY UNIONS

By ROBERT W. DUNN

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, *Editor of LABOR AGE*, in his introduction, says:

"It is the first attempt to analyze the company union experiment from a labor viewpoint. Mr. Dunn is happily equipped for the task which he has undertaken. His AMERICAN FOREIGN INVESTMENTS and his various other researches in economic problems stamp him as a careful and accurate investigator. His co-authorship in the LABOR SPY and his participation in the struggles of the Massachusetts and New Jersey textile workers—particularly in the recent strike at Passaic—demonstrates his intense interest in the advancement of the labor movement."

A copy of this book will be sent to you, free of charge, if you will obtain a new subscriber to LABOR AGE.

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